

## New today: The Tabloid

Inside Intellectual, emotional and visual pleasure

Andrew Graham-Dixon attacks Giacometti  
How New Yorkers trap cheating husbands  
All you need to know about your breasts

# Bombers strike at Army's heart

### 20 hurt in blasts at N Ireland HQ

David McKittrick and Anthony Bevis

Two huge bombs, driven by Republican bombers into the heart of the Army's Northern Ireland headquarters in Lisburn, Co Antrim exploded yesterday afternoon seriously injuring five people, with a further 15 hurt.

Last night the security forces were attempting to establish whether the attack was the work of the IRA. The possibility could not immediately be ruled out that the blasts were the work of a small breakaway republican group.

In any event the attack rep-  
"To place a bomb to kill or maim innocent men or women, and then to place a second bomb to kill the people giving medical attention is just unspeakable"  
- John Major

resented a body-blow to hopes of getting a renewed peace process off the ground.

The bombs, thought to contain together around 1,500lbs of explosives, were driven in two vehicles through the main security checkpoint of the barracks. The bombing clearly represents a major security lapse given that the IRA ended its ceasefire last February. Despite this, security in Northern Ireland has never been tightened to previous levels.

The army base is a huge sprawling complex in which many hundreds of military personnel work and where hundreds of families live. As the Army's HQ in Northern Ireland it attracts a considerable flow of both military and civilian traffic in and out of the base.

The first bomb exploded at 4.30pm several hundred yards inside the base and it was followed by the second, smaller explosion close to the Army medical centre where the injured from the first bomb were being ferried.

An Army spokesman said: "We can confirm that there were two vehicle-borne explosions within The Royal Barracks. The first was in a car park close to the administrative building manned mainly by civilian staff. The second appears to have been designed to catch casualties being taken to

the medical centre, which has been badly damaged."

There appear to have been no warnings.

The blast also damaged a children's nursery as well as the garrison church and the Naafi family shop. Medical teams and first-aid trained soldiers were on the scene within moments.

It was later revealed that an eight-year-old girl was among the nine blast victims taken to Lagan Valley Hospital. A spokesman said she had escaped major injury. Six men and three women were admitted to the hospital and two, described as major casualties, were later transferred to the specialist head injuries unit at Belfast's Royal Victoria hospital.

Condemning the bombing as "wicked and unspeakable", and the placing of a second bomb as "barbaric", the Prime Minister said, after he arrived in Bournemouth for today's Conservative Party conference: "It is clearly a very serious development." But he added: "We have no reason to believe it is the Provisional IRA."

Sir Patrick Mayhew, the Secretary of State for Northern Ireland, who is attending a Northern Ireland economic conference in Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania, said it would be catastrophic if loyalists traded their ceasefire in response to the Lisburn bombs. He urged them not to be provoked and to continue their admirable self-discipline and restraint.

David Trimble, leader of the Ulster Unionists, told BBC television that loyalist paramilitaries should "not to join the IRA in their wickedness".

Republicans are likely to view the bombings - and the embarrassing security breach at what should have been one of Ulster's most secure installations - as a show of defiance after the security forces' recent successes against the IRA on the mainland. Hopes had been raised in recent weeks by reports of a possible new IRA ceasefire, but these have remained unsubstantiated.

One immediate theory is that the bomb, the first in Northern Ireland since the IRA ceasefire ended in February of this year, may represent an attempt to make the point that it is still capable of attacks on its home territory.

The explosions will in any event serve to place heavy pressure on the loyalist ceasefire. At the time of the explosion UVE prisoners in the Maze were meeting loyalist leaders to express doubts about the continuing cessation.

Major's optimism, page 2



### 'Suddenly and sickeningly, dread prevails over hope'

DAVID MCKITTRICK

Ten days ago I discovered it was still possible to drive a car into the heart of Belfast, on a busy shopping Saturday, without having it checked. A row of empty vehicles sat parked in Castle Street, 10 yards from the very centre of the city.

It was a surprising sight, given that no IRA ceasefire is in effect and that IRA units have clearly been intent on causing serious destruction in England. Yet the apparent laxity in security caused no outrage or outcry in Belfast, for in some way good republicans at least are intent on recreating the worst of the 'bad old days'.

Certainly it could hardly have been more provocative. Sinn Féin has been excluded from talks because of the lack of an IRA ceasefire, and attacks such as yesterday's help ensure that the door to them will be more firmly barred than ever.

Then there are the loyalists.

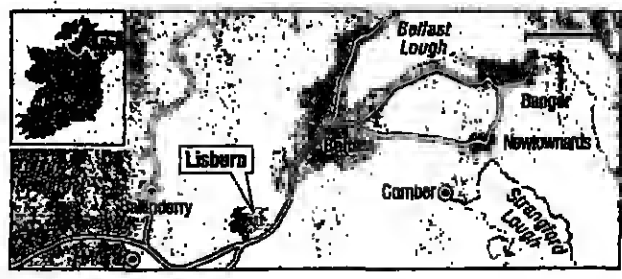
The security forces were reflecting something of this psychological mindset, by refraining from an oppressive 'clampdown' which might in some way goad republicans back to the use of the bomb. The mindset of fearing the worst while hoping for the best probably facilitated those who attacked army headquarters yesterday. The absence of routine checkpoints, parking restrictions and other security measures - has undoubtedly made it easier for everyone to move around Northern Ireland.

At the precise moment of the explosions Ulster Volunteer Force prisoners in the Maze jail, just outside Lisburn, were actually sitting in discussion with loyalist leaders from the outside. They were arguing about whether the loyalist ceasefire should be maintained when the explosions took place, sending a pall of black smoke in the air.

All over Northern Ireland last night people tuned in to their televisions and radios, anxious to find out whether it was an IRA attack; whether it might conceivably be the work of some fringe organisation; whether it was the prelude to another sustained IRA campaign. The question was whether they should abandon the last vestiges of hope and resign themselves to the bitter prospect of a resumption of the bitter, fruitless, endless struggle, the struggle that no one ever wins.



Where the terrorists struck



### WHERE TO ACQUIRE A TASTE FOR OYSTERS



The seamless Oyster shell of a Rolex chronometer is hewn from a single block of stainless steel, 18ct. gold or platinum. Within it lies a self-winding movement that has taken over a year to create. With prices starting at £1,400, the Oyster you always promised yourself is available from the Harrods Watch Department on the Ground Floor. Not, we might add, from the Food Hall.

Harrods  
Harrods, Knightsbridge SW1X 7XL. Telephone 0171-730 1234.  
Watch shown available in 18ct. yellow gold priced £10,400, white gold £11,140 and platinum £17,890.

## New blow to Tory unity as leading Euro-sceptic quits

Chris Blackhurst and Colin Brown

Conservative hopes for unity on the eve of their party conference were dealt a blow yesterday by the resignation of James Cran, one of the leading Euro-sceptics, as Parliamentary Private Secretary to Sir Patrick Mayhew, the Secretary of State for Northern Ireland.

Mr Cran is understood to have resigned at the weekend, just days before the start of the conference at Bournemouth. The reasons for his departure were unclear yesterday. The Northern Ireland Office confirmed his resignation but was unable to give an explanation.

Coming hard on the heels of the defection of Lord MacAlpine, the former Conservative treasurer and deputy chairman, to Sir James Goldsmith's Referendum Party, Mr Cran's departure is another embarrass-

ment for party managers desperate to portray a united front this week in Bournemouth. A party source said: "He resigned two months ago... With the effect of the boundary changes on his seat, he told the whips that he needed more time to devote to holding his constituency. To suggest there is any other reason is plain mischief making."

The Conservative high command last night used crack-downs on young offenders, paedophiles, and welfare "scroungers" to lift morale among supporters on the eve of the most difficult conference John Major has faced since he took over the leadership. The Prime Minister used a speech to Tory agents last night to launch a right-wing agenda, promising an expansion of "workfare" and welfare reform, which will save the Government £500m over three years.



Cran: Resigned as PPS

Party strategists are planning to use right-wing policies in Bournemouth to make it more difficult for Tony Blair to capture wavering Tories, but party officials privately indicated that morale was rock-bottom. There will be no attempt to present a "new philosophy of Majorism" but the Tory strategists

are building up the Prime Minister's personality in their campaigning against Mr Blair.

The defection of Lord MacAlpine to the Referendum Party, the continuing allegations of sleaze, and the deep splits over Europe threaten to overshadow the attempts by the Tory leadership to rally the party.

Leading Euro-sceptics today will ignore pleas for unity and challenge Mr Major's insistence that the Government should keep open the option of a single currency throughout the election campaign.

John Redwood, a leading Euro-sceptic, said: Lord MacAlpine's defection was symptomatic of Tory disaffection. "It shows the Conservative leadership has a job to do to reassure Euro-sceptic Party will not give the country away to Brussels and Frankfurt."

Tories at Bournemouth, page 5  
If Major wins again, page 20

### QUICKLY

**Dole makes a mark**  
Bob Dole did not come close to landing a really bruising blow in the first of his two televised campaign debates with President Bill Clinton. But his graceful and competent performance may have persuaded voters to give his plodding candidacy a second look. **Page 8**

**New enclave evidence**  
Fresh evidence has emerged about the failure of Dutch UN troops to defend Muslim refugees in the besieged Bosnian enclave of Srebrenica last year. **Page 12**

### Independent Decade



Andrew Marr, David Aaronovitch, Anthony Bevis, Steve Beggan, Colin Brown, Jamie Clement, Vettee Coyle, James Cusick, David McKittrick, John Rentoul, on films 1986-96 **Pages 12-19**



## news

## Inquiry urged into police driving

JASON BENNETTO  
Crime Correspondent

A review of police driver training was demanded yesterday after a nurse was killed by a patrol car which hit her stationary vehicle during a high-speed mock chase. But the officer driving the police car, which rounded a bend on a 60mph road at around 100mph, will not face disciplinary action.

Judith Hood, a 27-year-old orthopaedic nurse of Stevenage, Hertfordshire, died in June last year when a police vehicle rammed into the back of her Citroën AX as it stood at temporary traffic lights on the A10 at Harston, Cambridgeshire.

Caroline Mitchell, of the Police Complaints Authority, said yesterday that the two police cars travelled at "indefensible speeds on public roads".

The driver of the first or "handi" vehicle, Constable Gerard Sharratt, was fined £750 for careless driving and banned from driving for six months in July. He will not face disciplinary proceedings because under the Police and Criminal Evidence Act an officer convicted of a criminal offence cannot face disciplinary proceedings on the same facts. However, the PCA said the second officer, an unnamed driving instructor from the Metropolitan Police, who was in the following vehicle, should be admonished for failing to follow guidelines on pursuit driving and training.

Ms Mitchell, announcing the PCA's decision on disciplinary action, said: "These two police cars were travelling at indefensible speeds on public roads. Public safety is paramount and police officers should always drive so that they can stop safely. It is sometimes better for a pursuit to be abandoned ...

"I have discussed this single incident with the Home Office and it will be considered by the Association of Chief Police Officers' traffic committee. Such a dreadful accident must not be allowed to happen again. Lessons must be learnt." She added: "I will be recommending that instructors should make enquiries about any road works ... before training on public roads."

PC Sharratt was a senior instructor at the Metropolitan Police's driving school in Hendon, north London. He remains suspended from driving duties.

Scotland Yard said that it wanted to take the opportunity to repeat its condolences to Ms Hood's family for a deeply regrettable tragedy.



Last respects: The comedian Ronnie Barker arriving at All Saints church, Corston, near Bath, yesterday for the funeral of Leslie Crowther, who died last month aged 63. Hundreds attended the service and proceedings were relayed by loudspeaker to those unable to get in. Photograph: Ian Hodgson

Lisburn bombs: Blasts will stiffen party resolve for action against terrorists

## Major refuses to pronounce death of the peace process

ANTHONY BEVINS  
Political Editor

The Prime Minister last night refused to pronounce the peace process dead in the wake of the Lisburn bombs.

With representatives arriving in Bournemouth for the start of today's Conservative Conference - amidst the extremely tight security that has become commonplace on such occasions - the return of the bomb to Northern Ireland will stiffen party resolve to take a hard line against the terrorists.

But John Major's resilience came through strongly in Bournemouth last night. Staging an impromptu press conference at the Conservative headquarters in the Highcliff Hotel, Mr Major said the peace process was certainly not dead.

"So much depends on who did this. If this was one of the splinter groups, then they have been looking at that sort of activity for some time."

"And I have to say that it isn't helpful when people keep speculating about the peace process is over. I have heard that re-

peatedly over the last four or five years, and I have to say to you the people of Northern Ireland do not wish the peace process to be over.

"The vast majority of people in Northern Ireland, some of them for the first time in their lives, have seen what it was actually like to have 18 months without bombs, without violence, and with the changing circumstances of life in Northern Ireland."

The Prime Minister added: "The pressure from them to make sure that this process continues is unrelenting, and I am on their side."

"I want this to continue and I want to reach a satisfactory outcome. But if anybody thinks, whether it's a splinter group or the Provisional IRA, that they can bomb the British government out of the policy stance that they think is right for

Northern Ireland, then they are making a very serious and fundamental mistake."

Nevertheless, the return of bombing to Northern Ireland and security targets was being seen by Conservative MPs as the effective end of the peace process.

But Mr Major's determination should not be underestimated. Following a brief session with John Bruton, the Irish Prime

Minister, on the margins of the Dublin European Union summit, Mr Major said on Saturday night that in spite of the difficulties and the setbacks, he would persevere.

"I have no doubt on future occasions people will say to me this is dead. But for so long as I can push it forward, I will continue to try and do so."

But David Wilshire, vice-chairman of the Tory backbench Northern Ireland committee and a member of the Commons' Northern Ireland Select Committee, said: "It is a tragedy, but it is a tragedy. It is now possible that the British government, the Irish government and the American government will come to their senses, realise that they can't compromise with killers."

"You can't do deals with terrorists," he said. "Hopefully, this time, they will realise that the reason why Sinn Féin/IRA have not handed in their guns and explosives is because they want to use them."

"The message is simple - do what we want or we'll kill you," he added.

### Trail of death and destruction

**February 9, 1996** - Bombing of South Quay in London's Docklands, shortly after the IRA formally announced that its ceasefire was at an end, killed two people and injured many more.

**February 18** - IRA man Edward O'Brien killed by his own bomb when it accidentally ripped apart the bus on which he was travelling along Aldwych, central London.

**June 15** - IRA struck outside the capital for the first time in its renewed mainland campaign with a bomb in Manchester which injured 200 people.

**July 13** - Car-bomb devastated Killyhelvin Hotel, Enniskillen, injuring 17. Irish

Continuity Army, breakaway group linked to Sinn Féin, came under suspicion.

**July 15** - Metropolitan Police seized parts for 36 bombs they believed would have been used imminently in London.

**September 23** - Raids in London and West Sussex result in IRA suspect Diarmuid O'Neill being shot dead and five arrested.

**September 23** - Security forces in Belfast made safe a car-bomb consisting of 250lb of homemade explosives. Irish Continuity Army said they were behind the device.

**October 7** - Attack on Thiepval Barracks, Lisburn, Co Antrim, the Army's Northern Ireland headquarters. Bombs planted in the heart of the base injured up to 20 people.

## Six crucial facts about the fax machine you're about to buy

**1. FAXING** Technology has moved on and value for money has increased. So before you buy any old fax machine, take a good look at the new plain paper M3700 from Muratec. It costs only £449 (i.vat). Yet it's a lot more than just a fax machine.

**2. PRINTING** Check that your new fax has a built-in class 1 modem, so it can be connected to your computer and used as a high quality printer and can send and receive faxes directly to or from your PC. The M3700 does all of these.

**3. SCANNING** Make sure it has a scanner interface so you can use your fax machine as a scanner and import images into your PC to illustrate your document files. The M3700 comes ready to plug into your PC.

**4. COPYING** Consider the importance of a plain paper fax that can be used as a low volume or back up copier. The M3700 produces plain paper copies that don't curl or fade.

**5. ANSWERPHONE** Look for a fax that incorporates a high quality digital answerphone with automatic voice/fax switching facilities. The M3700 gives you this - plus crystal clear messages.

**6. THE FAX SUPPLIER** Buy from a company that specialises. Muratec only make faxes, so we have to be the best. We build fax machines with all these value added features: built-in, not bolted on.

So before you rush out and buy an ordinary fax, send for details on the multifunctional M3700. We'll also send you a FREE Guide to Fax Facts which contains a lot more details about buying faxes, call

0345 626782.

**muratec**  
the fax specialists

No. 1 Stoke Road, Guildford, Surrey GU1 4HW  
Tel (01483) 302100 Fax (01483) 301900  
http://www.muratec.co.uk

## Security services expected backlash

JASON BENNETTO  
Crime Correspondent

Security sources have been warning of a violent backlash since anti-terrorist officers arrested five suspected IRA members, shot dead another, and seized explosives in London two weeks ago.

Yesterday those fears were realised. The attack on the Army's Northern Ireland headquarters was the latest act of terrorism since the ceasefire was brought to a shuddering end at 7.01pm on 9 February when a 1,000lb lorry bomb destroyed a large part of Docklands in east London and killed two people.

Hopes that the Docklands bomb was a one-off were destroyed days later, when police discovered a 5lb Semtex bomb in a telephone box in Charing Cross Road, central London. That device was made safe.

Three days later, Edward O'Brien, an IRA bomber, was killed when his explosive accidentally detonated and ripped apart the bus on which he was travelling in Aldwych, central London. But this lucky break for the security forces did not stop the attacks. On 9 March a small bomb exploded in Fulham, west London, causing minor damage.

On 17 April an empty house in an exclusive area of Earl's Court, London, was damaged by another small bomb.

Londoners escaped a far greater threat a week later when two huge Semtex bombs placed at the south side of Hammersmith Bridge in west London failed to go off.

On 15 June the IRA struck outside of the capital for the first time in its renewed mainland



Devastation: Damage after February's London bomb

campaign, bringing horror and mayhem to Manchester with a huge one-tonne bomb which ripped through the city centre, injuring around 200 people, several seriously.

It was possibly the highest bomb the Provisionals had ever set off on the mainland.

On 28 June the terrorists switched tactics again. They fired a volley of three mortars at the Quebec barracks in Osanbruck, Germany. There were no injuries.

The campaign appeared to have shifted to Northern Ireland on 13 July when a 1,200lb car-bomb devastated the Killyhelvin Hotel at Enniskillen, injuring 17, but the IRA denied responsibility, suggesting a splinter group may have been to blame.

Two days later the Metropolitan Police scored their first major success, recovering components for up to 36 bombs which they believe would have been used imminently to target public utilities installations in London and the South-east. On 19 July eight men were charged with conspiring to cause explosions. The men were all remanded in custody.

Hopes for a new ceasefire grew in the next two months but they were destroyed on 23 September when anti-terrorist officers launched a series of dawn raids in west London and West Sussex which resulted in one IRA suspect - Diarmuid O'Neill, 27, being shot dead and five others arrested. At a warehouse in north London, police recovered explosives and arms which they say would probably have been used in lorry-bomb attacks. One of those arrested, the dead suspect's brother, Shane, was later released. A week after the raid the remaining four men were charged with conspiring to cause an explosion likely to endanger life or cause serious damage to property, and possession of explosives.

The downward spiral towards the renewal of full-blown conflict gathered pace as security forces made safe a car bomb made up of 250lb of homemade explosives in Belfast last Sunday. The Irish Continuity Army said they were behind the bomb.

The next day Ulster Defence Association and Ulster Freedom Fighters men inside the top security Maze Prison told their political representatives that they no longer had any confidence in the multi-party talks on the province's future.

## significant shorts

### More action sought against child-abusers

A national network of multi-agency teams is needed to hunt down child-abusers, the National Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Children said yesterday.

Government plans to clamp down on child abuse did not go far enough, said the NSPCC, which published a guide for parents and carers on abuse and called on ministers to fund a pilot of its proposed network.

It also called for the criminal justice system to be more child-friendly and said that vetting was needed to stop paedophiles using the Internet for their activities.

The Government has announced plans for a register of convicted sex offenders, a new offence effectively prohibiting paedophiles from seeking work with children and proposals to give employers' access to job applicants' criminal records.

Gilda Cooper

### Murdered boy suffered at mother's hands

A murdered boy of six had been subjected to a catalogue of cruelty by his mother and her husband, a jury was told yesterday.

Rikki Neave was punched, kicked, lifted into the air by his throat, thrown upstairs and dangled from a bridge by his ankles, it was said at Northampton Crown Court where his mother Ruth, 28, of Peterborough, denies murder.

Christine Seaborne, who knew Ruth Neave when she lived in March, Cambridgeshire, said she had once seen Rikki being dangled from a bridge by Ruth Neave.

"Ruth was with another girl and they were standing there and Ruth had Rikki banging over the bridge by his ankles," Mrs Seaborne told the jury. "As I walked by, they were just laughing ... he was screaming."

The case continues.

### Nobel prize for immune system discovery

The Nobel Medicine Prize has been awarded this year to two scientists who discovered in 1975 how the immune system recognises and can then kill virus-infected cells.

The work by Peter Doherty, an Australian, and Rolf Zinkernagel, a Swiss, at the John Curtin School of Medical Research in Canberra could have important applications in curing diseases such as cancer, diabetes, AIDS and multiple sclerosis.

Sten Grillner, chairman of the Nobel medicine committee, said the discovery changed the direction of immunology, unlocking the mystery of how a vaccine needed to be composed.

The work was relevant both to efforts to strengthen the immune response against invading micro-organisms and certain forms of cancer, and to lessen the effects of auto-immune reactions in inflammatory diseases like rheumatoid arthritis, multiple sclerosis and diabetes.

The winner of the economics prize will be announced today, and the physics and chemistry prizes on Wednesday, while the Nobel Peace Prize will be awarded in Oslo on Friday.

Charles Arthur

### 'Girl killed at age of 12'

A girl aged 16 appeared in court yesterday accused of committing a murder four years ago, when she was 12. The case against the teenager, who cannot be named, was adjourned until 8 November at Winchester Crown Court. She is alleged to have murdered Katie Rackliff, an 18-year-old hairdresser, whose body was found in a cemetery at Farnborough, Hampshire.

The scheme was condemned by Family and Youth Concern, an Oxford-based campaigning group, whose deputy director Cornelia Oddie said: "There is nothing good to be said about this. How can they be sure that children under 18 will not see these films?"

The London-based Adam and Eve Channel, which said its catalogue would eventually increase to several hundred titles, insisted it had taken every step to ensure under-18s could not enter the web site. The films were censored by the company to 18-certificate level.

The scheme was condemned by Family and Youth Concern, an Oxford-based campaigning group, whose deputy director Cornelia Oddie said: "There is nothing good to be said about this. How can they be sure that children under 18 will not see these films?"

A child-sex offender and his wife were yesterday at the centre of a High Court battle for the right to be housed in a "safe" area after being hounded from their home.

Jimmy Larwood, 41, was driven out of his council flat overlooking a children's playground and close to a school in North Woolwich, east London, by neighbours after being identified in a Sunday newspaper.

Ms Judith Maxwell, counsel for his wife Maureen, accused Newham borough housing officials of acting unreasonably by refusing to re-settle the couple in an area where they would not be victimised.

The couple, now homeless, were forced out of the flat soon after Larwood's release from prison where he had served four years of a six-year sentence for sexually abusing boys.

### Suspect in journalist case held

A man who has identified himself as a suspect in the case of the murdered Dublin journalist Veronica Guerin was yesterday being questioned by customs officers at Heathrow Airport after being detained while carrying a large consignment of cash.

John Gilligan was held with another man as they were about to board a flight to the Netherlands with £300,000 in their possession.

Irish police said they had no warrants for the arrest of Mr Gilligan. But it was thought they would be in a position to supply information to customs officers investigating the source of the £300,000, and any possible link to the drugs trade.

### Protest over British porn on the Internet

A British company is showing what it claims are the world's first full-length soft porn films on the Internet.

The London-based Adam and Eve Channel, which said its catalogue would eventually increase to several hundred titles, insisted it had taken every step to ensure under-18s could not enter the web site. The films were censored by the company to 18-certificate level.

The scheme was condemned by Family and Youth Concern, an Oxford-based campaigning group, whose deputy director Cornelia Oddie said: "There is nothing good to be said about this. How can they be sure that children under 18 will not see these films?"

### Dunblane cash pub manager 'was suicidal'

A loveorn pub manager sounded "suicidal" shortly before fleeing to Spain with £2,000 in bar takings and cash raised for the Dunblane tragedy victims and their families, a jury was told yesterday.

Patrick Southgate had repeatedly pleaded with his lover Margaret Buchanan not to end their relationship, she told Southwark Crown Court. "He was begging, imploring me to change my mind. He was crying, but I said no. He sounded suicidal."

James Dawson, for the prosecution, said Southgate, 49, pocketed not only an estimated £1,400 from the Hope and Anchor pub house in Poplar, east London, but about £600 earned during an emotional evening he had staged the night before.

Southgate, of Old Windsor, Berkshire, denies charges of stealing "a quantity of cash belonging to the Dunblane Fund". He admitted involving the pub in the case continues.

### THE INDEPENDENT ABROAD

Country	Price	Country	Price
Austria	£5.00	France	£5.00
Belgium	£5.00	Germany	£5.00
Canada	£5.00	Greece	£5.00
Denmark	£5.00	Ireland	£5.00
Finland	£5.00	Italy	£5.00
France	£5.00	Japan	£5.00
Germany	£5.00	Spain	£5.00
Greece	£5.00	Sweden	£5.00
Ireland	£5.00	Switzerland	£5.00
Italy	£5.00	USA	£5.00



# EMI takes the drugs out of the Beatles era

History is rewritten as references to psychedelic influences removed from cover of £100 video

DAVID LISTER,  
Arts News Editor

A £100 boxed set of *The Beatles Anthology* videos has had its sleeve notes censored to remove all mention of drugs. The *Independent* has learned. The eight-volume set, which runs for 10 hours – twice the length of the anthology series on television – went on sale yesterday.

Buyers will be unaware that the video sleeves have been censored by EMI. The Beatles' record company. A number of drug-related passages have been deleted including a quote by Ringo saying that "the grass

was influential in a lot of our changes, especially with the writers". That reference, implying that Lennon and McCartney were helped in their composing by soft drugs, has been removed, along with a passage by the group's long serving press officer, Derek Taylor.

Mr Taylor had written about how The Beatles had their minds expanded by marijuana, and that two of their albums, *Rubber Soul*, and *Revolver*, showed "the beneficial effects of herbal jazz cigarettes".

At Apple Corps yesterday The Beatles' management privately said they were stunned that EMI had chosen to censor remarks about drugs, particularly as the videos themselves contain unseen footage of The Beatles talking about drugs and the psychedelic era.

One senior Beatles aide said: "It is pretty amazing that 30 years after the event businessmen are still taking fright at references to drugs. The videos contain numerous mentions of drugs, none of which has been edited out. George Harrison talks about how he and John Lennon were slipped LSD by their dentist and went into a lift where they thought a red light was a fire and emerged from the lift screaming."

The three surviving Beatles also reveal that they "smoked marijuana for breakfast" during the making of the 1965 film *Help!*. Last night a spokesman for Parlophone, the division of EMI which deals with The Beatles, said he did not wish to comment on the changes.

Paul McCartney gave the first critic's view of the complete eight-video set. He said: "Seeing some of the stuff I've seen in the videos I think proves we were a good band. I don't have to say that with any arrogance now, because I'm looking back on it as if it was four other people. But we were bloody good."

"The videos will be on sale individually too, but demand is likely to be heaviest for the complete package. At HMV in Liverpool 50 sets were sold in the first hour of business, and it is estimated that about 200,000 sets will be sold nationwide. Ironically this figure is likely to be beaten by a new video shortly to be released by Oasis, often referred to as the Nineties' answer to The Beatles."

Neither group though has a chance of having the best selling music video ever. Riverdance's estimated £2m sale looks safe for the time being.



Still rocking the establishment: references to soft and hard drugs have been deleted from *The Beatles Anthology* by their record company EMI

Photograph: Apple Corps

## For sale: The contraceptive that cures flatulence – bids begin at \$15,000,000

DAVID USBORNE  
New York

A divorce case now underway in suburban Atlanta would have passed unremarked by the world except for one thing: the husband in the case is a descendant of a co-founder of the Coca-Cola empire. More than that, he claims he is the rightful owner of an original copy of the drink's secret formula and that he is willing to sell it.

Suddenly, the divorce of Frank M Robinson II from his wife, Patti, from whom he has been separated for two years, has risen far above the mundane. In the 110 years since Coca-Cola was concocted by an Atlanta chemist, John Stith Pemberton, its precise make-up has remained as the world's most celebrated corporate secret.

Mr Robinson, who was in the divorce court last Friday, is the grandson of Frank Robinson, who was Mr Pemberton's closest assistant. It was Robinson who chose the Coca-Cola name and drafted the flowing rendition of it that is still the product's logo. According to the living Robinson, his grandfather also copied by hand the exact recipe. That note, he says, was given to him by his own father in 1970.

House of Horrors is demolished. But what should happen to the site? Page 4



Bear necessities: The Coca-Cola recipe, guarded for a century, could finally be revealed

The circumstances of Mr Robinson are not what they might be. He was one of the heirs to a family fortune of £10m but now, 57 and afflicted with prostate cancer, he is in desperate need of cash. A real-estate broker, he has no qualms about putting his grandfather's note up for sale. "I've got the real thing and I'll get every dime I can for it," he said.

Coca-Cola's assumed properties extend well beyond the ability to quench thirst. A Harvard University study in 1969 found it could work as a spermicide, and it is widely held to combat flatulence. But few myths have endured longer than that of the recipe. In 1977, the company withdrew from the Indian market, when Delhi insisted on knowing the drink's ingredients. Eight years later, Coca-Cola was forced to reveal its recipe to a company vault. "We've never seen the evidence that Mr Pemberton shared the formula with

anybody – even Mr Robinson," a company spokesman asserted. Much of the planet is in any case already the battlefield of a cola war that long ago transcended any mystery about how it should be made. Indeed, it was only a decade after Pemberton made his brew that a North Carolina chemist, Caleb Bradham, came up with his version, to become Pepsi Cola. Pepsi Cola, based in New York, remains the most potent challenger to Coca-Cola. It had its best shot in the mid-Eighties with the launch of its Pepsi Challenge advertising campaign.

### Coca-Cola: The facts

It would take 23 hours for all the Coke ever sold to flow over Niagara Falls.

Thirty times more bottles of Coke are drunk each day than there are letters in the Bible.

In 1993 an author claimed he had stumbled across the original recipe while carrying out some research in the Coca-Cola archives in Atlanta. The company dismissed it as a fake, "the latest in a long line of unsuccessful attempts to reveal a 107-year-old mystery".

The "hobble skirt" bottle design was patented in July 1916; it is supposed to resemble the shape of a cola nut.

The average United States

citizen watches 75 Coke commercials every year.

On the 28 February 1950, the Paris Assembly passed a bill curbing the sale of Coke in France.

A Harvard University study in 1969 found that Coke has sperm-killing properties. The study was commissioned after reports that the drink was often employed for this purpose in countries where contraceptives were in short supply. Diet Coke was found to be the most efficient of the Coke varieties for this purpose.

An unsuccessful Coca-Cola Cookery Book was once published, containing recipes such as Fried Pork Chops à la Coca-Cola.

Ben Summers



## Blow-outs can be good for you

GLENDIA COOPER

Don't blame it on the bacon and the bangers any longer. While the British have resigned themselves to having the most aesthetically lamentable diet in Europe for years, the Consumers' Association claimed yesterday it could be healthier than that of our European neighbours.

According to *Health Watch* magazine, we have been forced the idea that fusilli and focaccia are always superior to meat and two veg, whereas the reality is that traditional British food can sometimes be less fatty and lower in calories than the Mediterranean diet.

This is quite an achievement for a nation whose culinary triumphs include the deep-fried tomatoe, the British Heart Foundation warned that the British diet is still too high in saturated fats, which leaves us with a greater risk of heart attacks and strokes.

"We've got to cut down totally," said Belinda Linden, cardiac nurse adviser to the BHF. "Cutting saturated fat is crucial to our diet. This is not the time to go back to black pudding."

calories and a massive 36g of fat off your daily intake."

Or have you been denying yourself a full Sunday roast for Italian risotto and tomato side salad? "There's really no debate on the fat front; it is a great British lean triumph," added Ms Ursell. "Roast chicken, roast spuds, baked parsnips, cabbage and sweetcorn come out with 17grams v 30grams (4g v 11g of which are saturated) for the risotto."

Lean pork chops with boiled potatoes, carrots and frozen peas score more highly on the vitamin C and vitamin E stakes than lasagne with a chunk of bread as well as having 22 per cent less fat.

But before we throw away the olive oil and the sun-dried tomatoes, the British Heart Foundation warned that the British diet is still too high in saturated fats, which leaves us with a greater risk of heart attacks and strokes.

# Only Colgate Total lasts 12 hours.

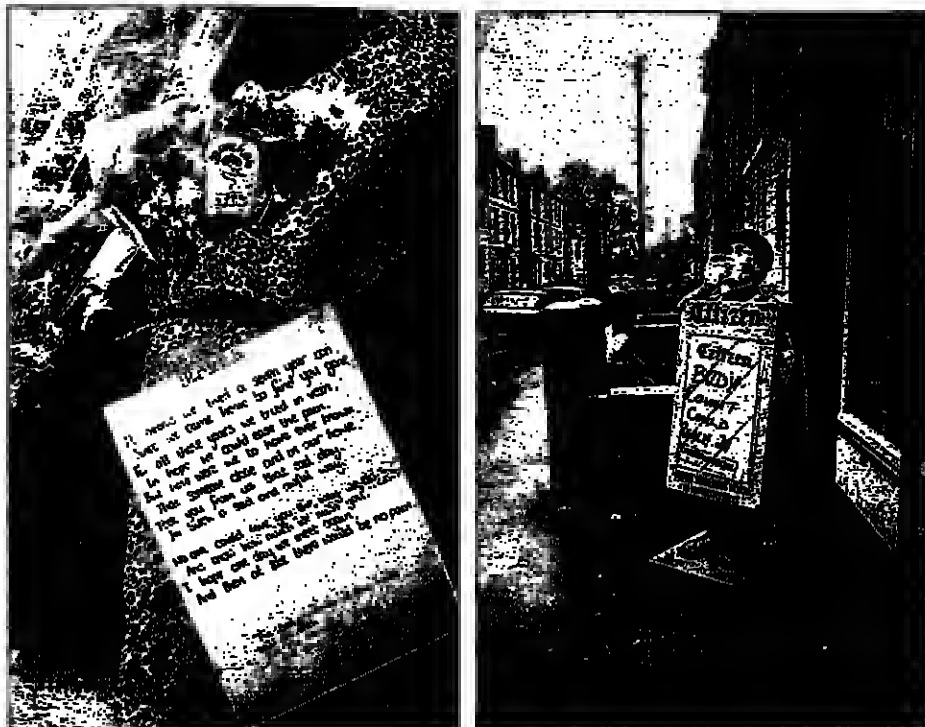


Colgate Total is the only toothpaste that has been clinically proven to work for 12 hours against plaque, tartar, cavities and gum disease. No wonder Britain's favourite is now used by five times as many dentists as any other toothpaste.



## news

## Cromwell St memories turn to rubble



Demolition work begins on House of Horrors begins as debate opens over what should become of site

JOJO MOYES

Demolition work began at the Cromwell Street "House of Horrors" yesterday, as a row erupted over the disclosure that serial killer Rosemary West will be allowed a say in what happens to the site.

Watched by hundreds of on-lookers, the demolition team moved in shortly after dawn and began preparing the outside of the three-storey Edwardian building for scaffolding and huge hoardings.

Gloucester city council has commissioned a survey to ask relatives of the Wests' victims, neighbours and local residents what should become of the site, where West and her late husband murdered and buried nine young women. Although the council said no direct approaches would be made to Rosemary West - now serving 10 life sentences - it would be prepared to consider any views that may be expressed through her solicitor, Leo Goadley.

Gloucester Tory MP Douglas French was among those who condemned the council's decision. "This is a grotesquely insensitive step. Rose West is a convicted mass murderer. She no longer owns a property in Cromwell Street and she is no longer a citizen of Gloucester. Her views are irrelevant."

Mr French added that the families of the Wests' victims should consider suing the West estate for the suffering they had endured.

He said he had been investigating the possibility of a civil action against the West estate, and concluded that the new rules allowing lawyers to take on co-win-oo-fee cases made it feasible.

"It would be for the shock and distress the families have suffered and are continuing to suffer. If the families were so minded they could come together and get a lawyer to act on their behalf. But I know that some of them wouldn't wish to go down that road because it would add to their distress."

A former teenage nanny to the West children who survived a terrifying attack by the Wests yesterday called for a memorial to the victims to be erected at Gloucester Cathedral. Caroloe Roberts described the start of demolition work at 25 Cromwell Street as "one of the best days of my life. I think they should destroy everything, just burn down the lot. There is no place in Gloucester for that house," she told the *Western Daily Press*.

Stephen West, the son of Rose and Fred West, said yesterday he would like a memorial garden on the site of 25

Cromwell Street to remember those who died, including his sister Heather.

Mrs Roberts, a mother of three, did not agree. "I don't think it's right to remember those young girls in the place where they suffered so much," she said.

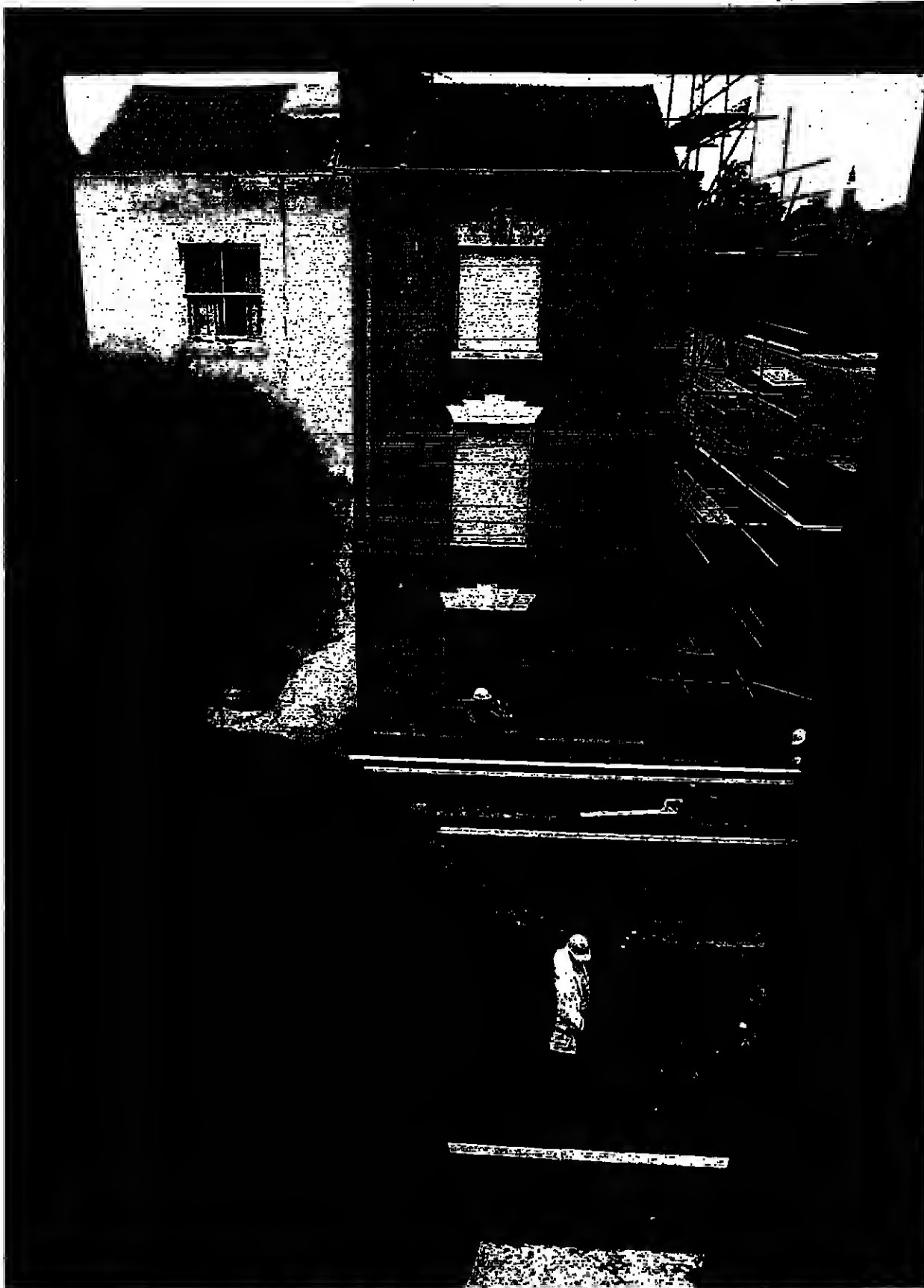
"They had a horrific end there. I wouldn't want to go back there to remember them and I'm sure their parents wouldn't want to either."

Relatives of the Wests' victims will be the first interviewed and invited to put forward suggestions for the site. Around 350 local residents will be consulted next. The recommendations are expected to be put to the council early next year.

A spokesman for Leo Goadley said yesterday that Rose West "did not care" what happened to the site and was happy to see it demolished.

Paul James, Conservative group leader on Gloucester city council, said: "In an exercise like this we have to listen to everybody. Although we will listen to Rosemary West's views we won't necessarily act on them."

He added: "This has been a painful chapter in Gloucester's history and whatever happens, we don't want a dispute over whether it is right. We want a consensus."



Final act: Demolition work starting yesterday at 25 Cromwell Street, above, flowers left outside the house for those who died, top left, and a local newspaper billboard of the rising death count

## Lives at risk as 'worried well' demand flu jabs

GLENDA COOPER

The "worried well" are being given vital influenza vaccines intended for the sick and vulnerable, the Department of Health said yesterday. As many as one in four vaccinees may be given to people who do not fall into the high-risk groups as defined by the department.

The flu vaccine is intended for people with chronic heart or chest complaints, chronic kidney disease, diabetes, lowered immunity, or any other serious illness as well as the elderly living in residential homes. This year, 6 million doses will be available at a cost of £30m.

But uptake by high-risk groups is estimated at no more than 50 per cent, although the vaccine is highly effective. A study in Leicester showed that up to 45 per cent of hospital admissions due to flu complications could be saved by targeting those most at risk.

Dr Jon Van-Tam, lecturer in public health medicine and epidemiology at University Hospital, Nottingham, who conducted the Leicester study, said: "Flu vaccination can reduce hospitalisation for pneumonia, influenza, bronchitis and emphysema by 60 per cent. This clearly shows the importance and efficacy of flu vaccines for those at higher risk."

In 1993, 13,000 deaths were

"For young, fit people an attack of flu is preferable to having a vaccine every year"

associated with flu in the United Kingdom. The last big outbreak in 1989 led to around 27,000 deaths. Doctors believe 75 per cent of these deaths could be avoided by repeat vaccination.

Research in GP practices by Dr John Watkins, director of primary health care at Gloucester Health Commission, found that in 25 per cent of cases the vaccine did not go to someone in a high-risk group.

This could mean that sometimes a doctor decides a patient is at risk despite falling outside one of the recognised brackets. But Dr Watkins added: "I think that probably a significant number of that group are healthy."

Dr Watkins said the misdirection of some of the vaccine was an inevitable consequence of raising public awareness. "The more you raise public awareness the more you attract people who are not necessarily in the high risk groups," he said. "You get this trade off."

Doctors advise that it is better for the young and healthy to suffer three or four days of flu than to have a jab, as a bout of the illness provides several years of good immunity against a particular strain.

"On balance we take the view that for young, fit people an attack of influenza is the preferred option to having a vaccine every year," said Dr Douglas Fleming, director of the Royal College of General Practitioners flu research unit in Birmingham.

Dr Fleming said the research unit would not use the word "epidemic" for a flu outbreak unless it became really serious. In previous years a figure of more than 150 GP visits per 100,000 population per month has been said to be an epidemic. He said it would be an "unusual" winter if visits went above 200 and above 400.

Such a level has not been seen since 1976 although the 1989 outbreak fell just below it. In 1969 there was a pandemic when the level shot above 1,000 GP visits.

## ST. JOSEPH'S HOSPICE

MARE ST. LONDON E8 6SA  
(Charity Ref No. 213123)

Since 1965 we have shared the grief and eased the pain of countless suffering souls.

Last year alone 900 found peace with the help of your vital gifts. Most of them died of cancer - but so severely that you would hardly know. Your concern is so encouraging, as your generosity and we thank you for your inspiring trust.

Sister Superior

## Seven-year-olds 'should learn Latin'

JUDITH JUDD  
Education Editor

Primary-school children might benefit from learning Spanish or even Latin, the Government's chief curriculum adviser said yesterday.

Dr Nick Tate, chief executive of the School Curriculum and Assessment Authority, was speaking at a conference on the role of modern languages in the primary curriculum.

Today the conference will hear from classicists who say that learning Latin from the age of seven improves children's English and particularly their grammar.

Jean Cross, from St John's primary school in Camber, Cornwall, will demonstrate how she teaches Latin to seven-year-olds. She says their use of language improves dramatically.

Dr Tate made it clear that the authority has not yet decided its policy on languages in primary schools. Both the Government and Labour have promised that there will be no big curriculum changes before 2000, though

Labour wants modern languages to be compulsory in primary schools.

Dr Tate said that, if a language were to be made compulsory, it had to be decided which it should be. There might be a case for Latin as a basis for other languages or for Spanish which was spoken by far more people world-wide than French.

"Are there benefits from heightening their awareness of language that survive the transfer from one language to another?" he asked. "What are the particular benefits from an early study of Latin, not least in laying the foundations for a later study of the Romance languages?"

Later he said: "France has traditionally occupied a special place in England's consciousness, not least because of the history we have shared from medieval times and the constant cultural exchange between the educated classes. But should this continue?"

Peter Jones of Friends of Classics said that research in the United States in the Seventies

showed that a little regular Latin for 10-year-olds advanced their spelling, knowledge about words and reading by up to a year.

Barbara Bell, secretary of the Joint Association of Classical Teachers, who will address the conference in London today, said the association was producing materials to teach Latin to pupils aged between seven and eleven. "We are suggesting schools might offer half an hour's Latin a week. Of course this would be optional."

She said that in Jean Cross's Latin lessons seven-year-olds were using such terms as adjectives, verbs, nouns and prepositions which caused much older children to flounder. "They act out myths such as Romulus and Remus. It is not dreary rote learning but tremendous fun."

The National Union of Teachers said that the demands of the primary national curriculum were already heavy. The proposal would necessitate a big investment in teacher-training.

## Insurers act to control use of genetic tests

CHARLES ARTHUR  
Science Editor

British insurance companies appointed an independent adviser on genetics testing yesterday, potentially opening up an era when your DNA could determine the level of your life- and health-insurance premiums.

Sandy Raeburn, a professor of clinical genetics at Nottingham University, said that he would be working with the Association of British Insurers to draw up the basis of a code of practice on the use of genetic information by the end of the year.

But Standard Life was quick to say yesterday that it did not think it was appropriate to ask for the results of genetic tests when issuing life policies worth less than £100,000 linked to a mortgage. Peter Robertson, as-

sistant general manager, said: "For the moment our stance is clear. We do not want to know about genetic tests."

But Mr Robertson said he could not guarantee the company would ignore such information in the future. "Having talked to a number of geneticists, they say we would be foolish to ignore genetic tests forever, because they may prove to be exceptionally useful."

Professor Raeburn said that he would seek more information about the industry's application of genetic testing. "We don't know how many people might have been unable to take insurance unjustifiably. Nor do we know what problems insurance companies might have had if somebody knew they had a genetic condition which was important and didn't mention it."

Present testing can show if someone has genes which indicate a predisposition to diseases such as bowel and breast cancer. But this does not mean they will develop those diseases, because there could be other, as yet unidentified, genes which mitigate the disease genes' effects.

The ABI said its members had a right to be informed about the results of any genetic tests undertaken by potential policyholders.

MPs on the Commons Science and Technology Select Committee last year accused insurers of complacency over issues such as the possibility of charging people with defective genes prohibitively high premiums and called for a code of practice. The Government rejected this, saying simply that the industry should make further progress.

## A PUBLIC APOLOGY TO BT.

SORRY. STILL  
20% CHEAPER



No-one likes having their thunder stolen. So, sorry BT.  
We're still at least 20% cheaper for international calls weekday evenings and all weekend. For details FreeCall 0500 500 366.

## Mercury SmartCall

You don't have to be a genius to see how much you'll save.

Prices and savings will continue to be correct on 8 October 1996, compared against BT's basic rate for international calls of 5 minutes or more, 6pm-8am weekdays and any time at weekends. Savings available for a quarterly fee of £5.75 (inc. VAT)

السلامة الاولى



# Major unveils his lean welfare machine

ANTHONY BEVINS  
Political Editor

John Major last night set the tone and pace of this week's Conservative Party conference in Bournemouth when he offered "a lean welfare machine" for the 21st century. Speaking to the eve-of-conference agents' dinner, the Prime Minister said that while Labour spoke of aspirations, "We are the party that delivers the goods."

Earlier, a meeting of ministers agreed that the Project Work welfare schemes, currently being tested in Medway and Hull, would be expanded to take in five cities, and up to 75,000 people.

Gillian Shephard, the Secretary of State for Education and Employment, will announce details in her speech to conference on Thursday, but Mr Major was linking that initiative with yesterday's introduction of

the Jobseekers' Allowance, new controls on housing benefit for single people under the age of 25, and "stiffer penalties" for parents, with the care of children, who refuse to co-operate with the Child Support Agency. According to senior party sources, total savings will amount to £500m over three years.

The overall campaign theme for the week is to be "Opportunity for all", and Mr Major

said in a pre-conference statement: "If we want to deliver opportunity for all, we need an economy that delivers jobs for the future."

That means taking forward our policies that are making Britain the low-tax, enterprise centre of Europe.

"But opportunity for all also depends on an affordable welfare system that offers security for all."

Mr Major said that the aim of the welfare programme was to ensure that people who wanted a job should be able to move "from dole to dignity". Those who did not want to work and abused the system would lose benefit.

"Project Work is aimed at those who have been unemployed for more than two years, for whom the barriers to employment are often greatest. This includes a package of measures and incentives to help

them find a job. But if, despite this help, the unemployed still can't find a job, they are offered three months' work on a community programme as a first step back to regular employment."

"Those who don't want to work are exposed, but those who do want to work are helped."

But the Labour Party, the unions and welfare campaigners yesterday united against

the expansion of welfare, and the introduction of the Jobseekers' Allowance was marked by industrial action by thousands of civil servants concerned for their own personal safety.

The Civil and Public Services Association, which wants screens installed to benefit offices to guard against the threat of increased violence, said that staff had been told not to bring their cars to work this week for

fear of damage by protesters. People on the scheme receive an allowance equal to their benefit plus £10 a week, but anyone refusing to participate risks losing their benefit.

Peter Hain, a Labour employment spokesman, said the introduction of the Jobseekers' Allowance had been a "sham", and it was merely designed to push people off benefit rather than help them to find a job.

## McAlpine may lose Tory whip

COLIN BROWN  
Chief Political Correspondent

Lord McAlpine, the former Conservative Party treasurer, could lose the Tory whip in the House of Lords over his support for Sir James Goldsmith's Referendum Party, senior party officials confirmed last night.

But Tory leaders played down the prospect of mass expulsions of other supporters of the Referendum Party from Conservative Associations, raising suspicions that there could be too many to handle.

The refusal to take tougher action was seen as an attempt to avoid an embarrassing clash with Tory supporters who have sympathies with the Euro-sceptics.



Lord McAlpine: Lords may review his position

"Just because Bill Cash [a leading Euro-sceptic Tory MP] enjoys holidays with Jimmy Goldsmith does not make it an extremist organisation," said a senior party source.

Lord McAlpine embarrassed the party by announcing on the eve of the Tory conference his decision to chair next week's conference for the Referendum Party. Tory officials denied he was being expelled on the ground that he had never been a fully paid up member of the party, in spite of being a party treasurer during the Thatcher period.

But action is expected against Lord McAlpine continuing to take the Conservative whip in the Lords. "He still takes the whip in the House of Lords. It may well be when the House of Lords returns, that is reviewed," said the Conservative source.

Brian Mawhinney, the Conservative Party chairman, said on BBC: "I am an inclusive chairman, not an exclusive chairman. I would set about trying to persuade them what the general election is about is covering the country. Whatever else the Referendum Party is about it does not masquerade as a government."

Tory officials later made it clear that anyone found canvassing for a Referendum Party candidate against a Conservative candidate could be expelled, but it would be a matter for the local constituency association.

## Goldsmith will also hit Labour and Lib Dems

CHRIS BLACKHURST  
Westminster Correspondent

For every eight votes Sir James Goldsmith's Referendum Party takes from the Conservatives, it will probably take more from across the main Opposition parties, according to the party's private polling.

The poll shows that for every eight Tory votes, it will take six from Labour and five from the Liberal Democrats. Aides of Sir James claim that figures show the party appeals to a broader spectrum than previously realised.

The poll should soothe Tory jitters, and suggest the impact of Sir James's cheque book may not be as damaging as supposed. But despite the showings, signing up to the party by Lord McAlpine, an ex-treasurer and deputy chairman of the Conservative Party, remains troubled.

The party's forthcoming one-day conference in Brighton, to be chaired by Lord McAlpine, is seen internally as crucial. If the party manages to shed its image as a haven for rich friends of Sir James and eccentric right-wingers, then a month-long mailshot exercise will follow.

An advertising campaign will be rolled out and the party will then be regarded as properly up and running. Most important, say insiders, morale, badly weakened by sackings, a poor press and lack of organisation, will be boosted.

The defection of Lord McAlpine, may also prove pivotal. Always optimistic, forever reaching for a formidable list of friends and contacts, the Tories' former controller of the purse strings, is the sort of "can do" Mr Pitt figure Mrs Thatcher so admired. He brings years of campaigning nous to a party that until now has been bereft in this department.

Sir James is one of the world's most successful businessmen but he appears to have little political savvy. So far, nobody in the party has been prepared to stand up to him: "He shouts, we jump," was how one party source yesterday described working for him. He cited, as an example of what he

meant, a lacklustre pamphlet sent to six million households and ascribed to Sir James.

Worries about infiltration from other parties and the need for tight security are said to be the Referendum Party's major priorities at present and reportedly take up a lot of the internal discussions. If so, that is a reflection of Sir James the takeover king, rather than the head of a party with a general election to fight and candidates still to select.

Staff do not expect to win any seats - even Sir James's own battle in Putney against David Mellor is not now regarded as a probability - and already they are making plans for life after the election. They are on one-month contracts - agreements they do not expect to be renewed if Labour wins the general election.

Documents filed at Companies House by the Referendum Party hint at the group's limited future. While Sir James has promised £20m to the party, the papers at Companies House reveal expenditure, so far, of £500,000. The bulk will, no doubt, go to campaigning and advertising.

But Sir James makes it plain his wallet may not always stay open. A commitment to the party from his private organisation, the Goldsmith Foundation for European Affairs, includes the accounts statement that this is "subject to review and subject to an agreed cap".



Sir James Goldsmith: seen as short on political savvy

## The Hamilton affair: Labour strategists plan Commons onslaught on the lobbyists and their money

# Wounds still fester on cash for questions

CHRIS BLACKHURST  
Westminster Correspondent

If Conservatives arriving in Bournemouth are optimistic that the worst of the cash-for-questions affair is behind them, they may have to think again.

Labour is gearing up for a mighty onslaught when the Commons resumes business next Monday. What was in danger of becoming the preserve for the cognoscenti - a row between the Guardian and Mohamed al-Fayed on the one hand and Neil Hamilton and Ian Greer on the other over something that happened years ago - has been elevated with the disclosure of the memorandum from a government whip discussing how to block a parliamentary inquiry.

Labour is confident that this is something the public can understand, that provides tangible proof of big money talking, of the way in which the Establishment draws the wagons round itself when threatened. If the Government did this to one inquiry, asked a Labour MP yesterday, what else has it been doing, what other procedures have been rigged?

At Westminster, there was little surprise at the memorandum - the whips have long been suspected of manipulating select committees - it was the document's publication that caused genuine shock. For the first time, there was proof of a cynical disregard for democracy.

Similarly, how many other Hamiltons and Greers are there? Mr Hamilton was a gregarious, larger than life character, but are we to suppose he was the only one of his party accepting large sums of cash? The names of two other Tory

committees - it was the document's publication that caused genuine shock. For the first time, there was proof of a cynical disregard for democracy.

Similarly, how many other Hamiltons and Greers are there? Mr Hamilton was a gregarious, larger than life character, but are we to suppose he was the only one of his party accepting large sums of cash? The names of two other Tory

committees - it was the document's publication that caused genuine shock. For the first time, there was proof of a cynical disregard for democracy.

Similarly, how many other Hamiltons and Greers are there? Mr Hamilton was a gregarious, larger than life character, but are we to suppose he was the only one of his party accepting large sums of cash? The names of two other Tory

committees - it was the document's publication that caused genuine shock. For the first time, there was proof of a cynical disregard for democracy.

Similarly, how many other Hamiltons and Greers are there? Mr Hamilton was a gregarious, larger than life character, but are we to suppose he was the only one of his party accepting large sums of cash? The names of two other Tory

committees - it was the document's publication that caused genuine shock. For the first time, there was proof of a cynical disregard for democracy.

Similarly, how many other Hamiltons and Greers are there? Mr Hamilton was a gregarious, larger than life character, but are we to suppose he was the only one of his party accepting large sums of cash? The names of two other Tory

committees - it was the document's publication that caused genuine shock. For the first time, there was proof of a cynical disregard for democracy.

Similarly, how many other Hamiltons and Greers are there? Mr Hamilton was a gregarious, larger than life character, but are we to suppose he was the only one of his party accepting large sums of cash? The names of two other Tory

committees - it was the document's publication that caused genuine shock. For the first time, there was proof of a cynical disregard for democracy.

Similarly, how many other Hamiltons and Greers are there? Mr Hamilton was a gregarious, larger than life character, but are we to suppose he was the only one of his party accepting large sums of cash? The names of two other Tory

committees - it was the document's publication that caused genuine shock. For the first time, there was proof of a cynical disregard for democracy.

Similarly, how many other Hamiltons and Greers are there? Mr Hamilton was a gregarious, larger than life character, but are we to suppose he was the only one of his party accepting large sums of cash? The names of two other Tory

committees - it was the document's publication that caused genuine shock. For the first time, there was proof of a cynical disregard for democracy.

Similarly, how many other Hamiltons and Greers are there? Mr Hamilton was a gregarious, larger than life character, but are we to suppose he was the only one of his party accepting large sums of cash? The names of two other Tory

committees - it was the document's publication that caused genuine shock. For the first time, there was proof of a cynical disregard for democracy.

Similarly, how many other Hamiltons and Greers are there? Mr Hamilton was a gregarious, larger than life character, but are we to suppose he was the only one of his party accepting large sums of cash? The names of two other Tory

committees - it was the document's publication that caused genuine shock. For the first time, there was proof of a cynical disregard for democracy.



Ian Greer: The name of his company is forever stained

## Critics deflate Howard's crime drive

JASON BENNETTO  
Crime Correspondent

Proposals to give courts new powers to confiscate criminals' driving licences as part of their punishment were condemned yesterday as a "crazy idea" which would fail to deter offenders.

Under the plans, which Michael Howard, the Home Secretary, is expected to announce to the conference today, some thieves, burglars and other criminals could be disqualified regardless of whether their offences involved cars.

The Home Secretary is also expected to suggest a scheme to "name and shame" young offenders by giving courts the power to remove the automatic anonymity for under-18s.

The initiative would be designed to humiliate teenagers and thugs and shame their parents into taking more responsibility. This proposal, leaked several weeks ago, was attacked by penal groups, which argue that it will seriously harm the chances of rehabilitation by "labelling" juveniles as trouble-makers at such an early age.

On the issue of driving-licence confiscation, ministers consider that the threat of being banned from the roads would act as a strong deterrent to a would-be offender. They also believe that by removing offenders' licences it will make

further crimes, such as burglary, which often rely on access to a vehicle, far harder.

The length of disqualification would vary depending on the seriousness of the offence. A series of pilot schemes would probably be used to test the measure's effectiveness.

But the suggestion was lambasted by motoring groups, penal reformers and civil-liberties campaigners yesterday. They argued that it would be impractical, as many criminals use stolen cars and there are already more than 1 million uninsured drivers.

Also, a quarter of the motorists who are disqualified in this country are later convicted of driving while banned - suggesting the penalty has little effect.

In addition, there are concerns about the civil-liberty implications of the proposed laws.

Edmund King, of the RAC, said that although his organisation supported measures to take away licences from those convicted of offences directly related to driving, such as "road rage" crimes, it did not back an extension of this sanction.

"On a practical level, a convicted burglar who has his licence taken away is likely to continue to drive but is going to be uninsured and is likely to be driving a stolen, untraceable car."

John Wadham, director of the Liberty civil-rights group, con-

demned the proposal as "another crazy idea by Mr Howard". Harry Fletcher, of the National Association of Probation Officers, said: "At least half of petty thieving and burglary is drug-related."

"Losing a driving licence will not be foremost in offenders' minds."

But the idea did prompt a positive reaction from Chief Superintendent Brian MacKenzie, President of the Police Superintendents' Association. He said: "I think it would be an excellent step forward to tackle the criminal from the mobility point of view."

Mr Howard is also considering plans, first suggested by the Labour Party, for a curfew on

persistent young offenders by subjecting them to court orders banning them from the streets late at night.

The Home Office is known to be keen to extend the use of electronic tags as a way of monitoring offenders.

What do the Wonder bra and a pain in the neck have in common? Page 6



## news

# That was the week, that was ... for back pain, asthma, flu awareness and, whisper it not, the Wonderbra

CLARE GARNER

In the next few days you are being asked to Make a Difference. You may have missed your Ps and Qs on last week's National Courtesy Day, but this week you're supposed to be minding about a whole lot more.

By the time you've finished boosting your bosom for breast cancer, sporting your grottiest tie for muscular dystrophy, fixing up a flu jab for an elderly friend and taking a hungee jump for the YMCA, you may feel like bundling yourself off to bed with a chronic bout of compassion fatigue.

This week, a myriad of weird and wonderful causes ranging from the worthy to the Wonderbra are clamouring for the public's attention. It is Muscular Dystrophy Week, Children's Books Week, YMCA Week, Wonderbra Week, Miscarriage Awareness Week, National School Film Week, Flu Awareness Week, National Asthma Week, National Back Pain



Makes you wonder: Czech model, Eva "Hello Boys" Herzigova, promotes the Wonderbra with the help of publicists and London band, Wonderbrass Photographs: Tom Pilstow

Week and Cruse Bereavement Care Awareness Week.

Then there's National Poetry Day, World Mental Health Day and, to round off the week,

a new import from the United States: Make a Difference Day.

Community Service Volunteers (CSV), the organiser of Make a Difference Day, is "very

conscious" of the increasing competition for the nation's goodwill. "What we're asking for is care not cash," said Chris Reed, a CSV spokesman, who

hopes 10,000 Britons will volunteer. "I know it sounds a bit cheesy, but we're asking people to give their time. Just a couple of hours on a Saturday to do

something in their community." "Everyone has something to offer," says Elisabeth Hoodless, executive director of CSV. "Fifty percent of the population are

already volunteers. Half of the rest are waiting to be asked."

Well, are they? The real question is: Do any of these national awareness days, or weeks, really make a difference? Is National Back Day anything more than a pain in the proverbial neck? How does one discriminate between one door-to-door collection and another? This ribbon and that?

And with the Conservative Party Conference and Eva "Hello Boys" Herzigova jetting into London to launch National Wonderbra Week, do any of the causes stand a chance of publicity? The Muscular Dystrophy Group has given serious thought as to whether to abandon their awareness week.

"Last year and the year before we were questioning whether it was the most effective use of our time, particularly as there are so many other weeks going on," said David Sowter, the group's director of fundraising. As an opportunity for raising awareness, the week is "quite limited", he added.

One event - Grotty Tie Day - does capture the public's imagination, but people rarely associate the gag with the disease. "It doesn't do much to

promote the name," admitted Mr Sowter. "It's like the Grand National. Few people know who is sponsoring it. Or Red Nose Day. I don't think a lot of people realise to which good causes the money will go."

But William Sieghart, who is organising Thursday's National Poetry Day, claims that the timing is helpful. "We always have Poetry Day at this time of year, when the publishers have been in Frankfurt and the politicians are making a lot of noise," he said.

As for hogging the headlines and diverting attention away from charities, Mr Sieghart is unapologetic. "I think poetry is a worthy thing. Most people turn to it in times of trouble and strife," he said.

For some more than others, Weeks and Days are a wonderful marketing wheeze. As a plug for the profile of Playtex Wonderbra Week has been a winner. The three-year-old company doubled its sales during its first Week last year and for every one of the 30,000 bras it sold, it donated a £1 to Breakthrough Breast Cancer.

This year, Wonderbra is inviting the public to join a host of "upfront" bra-wearing stars in an action-packed week of nationwide fun and "uplifting" events. You can, for example, guess how long the factory takes to make the biggest ever bra-cup size, one and a half metres.

For those with an insatiable appetite for do-gooder Days, next week is Make a Will Week. Next Wednesday is Worldwide Day of Action Against McDonald's. And creeping up at the end of the month there is ... Bug Buster Day, Flu Awareness Week, National Asthma Week, National Back Pain Week, National Poetry Day, World Mental Health Day, Cruse Bereavement Care Awareness Week, Muscular Dystrophy Week, Children's Book Week, YMCA Week, National Wonderbra Week, Miscarriage Awareness Week, National School Film Week, and Make a Difference Day.

## Misadventure verdict on beach children

A coroner yesterday recorded a verdict of misadventure on Jodi and Tom Loughlin whose bodies were found two weeks after they disappeared from a beach near Hunstanton, Norfolk.

Norwich district coroner, William Armstrong, heard that Jodi, six, and Tom, four, were swept out to sea from Holme beach on the second day of their summer holiday.

The children's bodies were washed up on separate beaches two weeks after their disappearance sparked a three-day land, sea and air search in August. They were buried after a joint funeral service in Upper Norwood, south London, a week ago.

Jodi and Tom's parents, Kevin Loughlin and Lynette Thornton, both 38 and from Upper Norwood, said they took their eyes off the children for five minutes.

Speaking after the inquest, Mr Loughlin said he hoped the deaths would raise awareness of the dangers of Britain's coastline. "I hope people will realise the dangers that exist along the shoreline and hopefully some action will take place to raise people's awareness, particularly in places like Holme where there are hidden shelves which people who aren't local aren't necessarily aware of."

Mr Loughlin told the inquest in Norwich that the family had arrived at Holme at about 5pm

on 18 August. He and Lynette chose a spot on the busy beach and sat down with Jodi and Tom, who rushed off to the water, about 400 yards away.

After a few minutes Jodi rushed off excitedly to join her brother, Mr Loughlin said. The parents put on some sun cream then Ms Thornton went to look for the children.

The couple believed they had taken their eyes off the children for no more than five minutes. But when Ms Thornton reached the sea there was no sign of Jodi and Tom.

Mr Loughlin said he and Ms Thornton scoured the beach for two hours searching for the children before calling police.

Asked by the coroner why they did not summon help sooner, he said: "We both felt they had got lost somewhere on the beach. It's a very large beach."

The coroner heard evidence that the tide swept in with unusual swiftness on that day. The Coastguard sector officer, David Thiel, said the day had marked the top of the spring tide.

"The low water was lower than average and the high water higher than average, so the tide would come in quicker than day than normal."

He said the beach was undulating with sandbars running parallel to it. The two children could easily have got out of their depth and swept into one of these channels.

Your old integrated plain paper fax, phone, copier, scanner and colour printer.

A CABLE & WIRELESS COMPANY

**WE HAVE TO HAND IT TO BT: THEY STILL DO THE BIGGEST ADS. (BUT WE STILL DO THE BIGGEST SAVINGS.)**

On October 8th, BT's massive ads announced "massive" savings. But our wee ads announced savings that are quite gargantuan. Yes, with our GlobalLink package for businesses, we're still 48% cheaper for a 3 minute call to the States during weekday working hours. So for small ad bargains FreeCall 0500 800 125.

**MERCURY**

It doesn't cost anything to talk  
FreeCall 0500 800 125

Prices and savings compared against BT's best rate. Run to 5pm, weekdays. Calls are subject to a minimum charge of 4.2p. GlobalLink savings are available for a subscription fee of £7.50 per quarter. All prices quoted ex VAT.

السلامة الأولى



## Golf club drives out adopted boy in family match

MICHAEL STREETER

A decision by a golf club to ban a 13-year-old boy from competing in a family event because he is adopted could cause the teenager distress and damage his self-esteem, experts warned yesterday.

Laurie Briggs and his adoptive mother were barred from the annual family foursomes event at Burhill Golf Club, near Walton-on-Thames, Surrey, after a complaint that he was not a blood relative.

His mother Audrey Briggs, a former Welsh golfing champion, and her husband Laurie, who live in West Kirby, Cheshire, were then informed by the club that the event was only open to natural sons and daughters. Mrs Briggs said: "I am very upset about the whole thing and we are hoping that the club will change its mind."

Laurie was adopted at the age of three months by the Briggs from a Brazilian mother who wanted her child adopted abroad. He has become a keen sportsman, playing cricket, football and his main love golf. He knows of the adoption but regards Mrs Briggs as his mother.

The British Agencies for Adoption and Fostering said

they were "disappointed" by the club's action, and warned that it was potentially damaging because adopted children were particularly prone to feelings of rejection and low self-esteem.

Spokeswoman Leigh Chambers added: "Instances such as this can reinforce those feelings and single the children out as being different. This can be stressful and upsetting to all concerned as well as insulting to the adoptive parents who are providing their children with a loving home."

Mrs Briggs and her son had reached the third round of the family foursomes event, but then another competitor complained that Laurie should not be allowed to take part.

The club secretary, Dick Richards, wrote to the Briggs saying that the conditions of entry for the competition stated it was open to only mother and fathers with natural sons and daughters. The letter said: "On the entry form you received you will see that step-children are not permitted and it is my error that adopted children did not feature on the form; this will be corrected for next year."

In a further letter, the club captain said: "Your deep disappointment touches me great-

ly but this event has always operated with the qualification that family pairs must be blood relations. I know that this can be hard to accept in circumstances such as yours."

Ray Burniston, national secretary of the Association of Golf Club Secretaries, said: "Golf clubs run their own competitions and are able to set their own rules, which people must accept. Burhill is a good club, but I hope that they clarify their rules, as it seems that they caused Mrs Briggs and Laurie considerable discomfort."

Burhill Golf Club said: "We are not able to comment at the moment. The secretary is away on holiday until next Monday and the club captain is not available."



Cold snap: Members of the Birmingham Royal Ballet dancing *Les Patheurs*, one of a trio of works with a wintry flavour that they will be performing on their national tour which opens today at the Alhambra

Photograph: Laurie Lewis

## Middle-class woman 'planted embassy bomb'

A Palestinian planted the car bomb that rocked the Israeli embassy in London in an attempt to derail the Israeli-Arab peace initiative, a jury at the Old Bailey was told yesterday.

Nadia Zekra, 49, was a member of a group of middle-class Palestinians based in London, David Calvert-Smith, for the prosecution, said.

The group believed that Yasser Arafat, the Palestinian leader, "was misguided in his attempts to come to any accommodation with Israel and wished to hinder the process", Mr Calvert-Smith said.

The bomb was set off in July 1994 after the Jewish leader Yitzhak Rabin and King Hussein of Jordan had signed the Washington peace declaration.

It shattered the windows of "every house, shop and car within a radius of a few hundred yards. People inside the buildings and outside on the street were thrown to the ground. Substantial debris flew through the air as far as 300 yards or so." Damage to the embassy, in Kensington Palace Gardens, was £5m or more.

The bomb was in the back boot of an Audi which had been parked as close as possible to the embassy, Mr Calvert-Smith said that it was left there by Zekra, of West Kensington, west London. She denies causing an explosion.

The prosecution alleges that another woman and two men in the dock with her had taken part in the "planning and manufacture" of the bomb and of a second bomb which exploded the following day outside the offices of a Jewish charity.

Samar Alami, 30, of South Kensington, Jawad Botmeh,

28, of Bloomsbury, central London, and Mahmoud Abn-Wardeh, 25, of Putney, south-west London, deny conspiring to cause explosions between January 1993 and May 1995. They also deny possessing an explosive substance, triacetone triperoxide, of a nature likely to endanger life or cause serious damage, and possession of firearms.

Mr Calvert-Smith said the embassy bomb was triggered either by a timing device "or more likely, by remote control". That day letters were posted addressed to two Arabic newspapers and the Palestine Liberation Organisation's offices in London, he alleged.

They were from the "Palestine Resistance Jaffa Group in Palestine" and claimed responsibility for the embassy bomb and one at premises in north London known as Balfour House. One exploded the following day at the building, which belong to the Jewish Philanthropic Organisation for Israel and the Middle East.

"Once again enormous damage was caused to surrounding buildings and a number of people were injured," Mr Calvert-Smith told the jury.

Of the accused, he said: "All are of Palestinian origin and are well integrated into English society and the middle and upper middle classes."

Mrs Zekra was allegedly seen by a diplomatic protection police officer parking the car near the embassy. She said she was delivering a present and was told to be back in five minutes. The car's details were checked by radio when she did not return but revealed nothing suspicious. The case continues.

### DAILY POEM

#### Brief Lives

By Olive Senior

Gardening in the Tropics, you never know what you'll turn up. Quite often, bones. In some places they say when volcanoes erupt, they spew out dense and monumental as stones, the skulls of desaparecidos - the disappeared ones. Mine is only a kitchen garden so I unearth just occasional skeletons. The latest was of a young man from the country who lost his way and crossed the invisible boundary into rival political territory. I buried him again so he can carry on growing. Our cemeteries are thriving too. The newest addition was the drug baron wiped out in territorial competition who had this stunning funeral complete with twenty-one gun salute and attended by everyone, especially the young girls famed for the vivacity of their dress, their short skirts and even briefer lives.

The feather in the cap of National Poetry Day on Thursday is the publication of *Emergency Kit: Poems for Strange Times*, edited by Jo Shapcott and Matthew Sweeney and published by Faber. It is easily the sharpest and the wittiest anthology of recent years and a brilliant introduction to poetry from the English-speaking world in the post-war era. This poem by Olive Senior, who was born in Jamaica in 1943, was first published in *Gardening in the Tropics* by Bloodaxe in 1986.

There are stacks of reasons to buy the Samsung Multijet SF4200.

It's a superior-quality ink-jet fax machine which takes standard A4 plain paper and you can connect it to your PC or a telephone without having to use a separate unit. Third, when it's connected to a PC, it can also act as a colour printer.

[Beginning to see where the 'Multi' part of its name came from?]

It's also a copier. And a scanner. Oh yes, and a telephone. We could go on - so we will. It has a 24 page (upgradeable to 48 pages) full dual-access memory, which allows documents to be scanned for transmission whilst simultaneously receiving a fax!

And it comes complete with a 30 sheet automatic document feeder.

All this means you'll not only improve productivity and efficiency, but also reduce capital investment and running costs.

And at just £799.99 all in, the Multijet SF4200 will also save you a pile.



Our new integrated plain paper fax, PC fax, phone, copier, scanner and colour printer.

The Samsung Multijet range is available through Comet, Tempo, Viking Direct and Nisid Ideas, or for more information on the new range of Samsung Multijet fax machines (including the SF4000 plain paper fax and the SF4100 answering) send the coupon to Samsung Electronics (UK) Ltd, Samsung House, 225 Hook Rise South, Surbiton, Surrey KT6 7LD. Tel: 0181 391 0168 or Fax: 0181 391 8295.

Name: \_\_\_\_\_ Address: \_\_\_\_\_

Tel: \_\_\_\_\_ INO 8/10



## international

## Dole's TV wit lacks razor edge

The Republican challenger's first face-to-face with Bill Clinton failed to sway voters, writes Rupert Cornwell

Washington — By common consent, Bob Dole did not come close to landing a really bruising blow in the first of his two campaign debates with President Bill Clinton. But his graceful, witty and competent performance may have achieved his minimum objective of persuading voters to give his plodding candidacy a second look.

For 90 minutes in Hartford, Connecticut, on Sunday evening, watched by the largest national television audience until election night on 5 November, the President and his Republican challenger set out their differences on issues ranging from foreign policy, crime and education to the economy and Whitewater. The tone was unfailingly civil. Far ahead in the polls, the President needed only to avoid disaster and easily did so.

Mr Dole, with a string of trademark sardonic one-liners, provided most of the humour. But twice he declined opportunities to wade in against Mr Clinton on the "character issue" — shorthand for broken election promises, a gamut of White House mini-scandals, Whitewater and his supposed personal peccadilloes — where the President is most vulnerable.

Afterwards, an array of instant polls, "debate-meters" and sundry other psephological devices wheeled out by the networks picked up scant change in the overall picture. In one, by CBS, 96 per cent claimed that what they had seen would make no difference to their vote. Asked to select a "winner" and a "loser", those questioned gave Mr Clinton victory by 15 or 20 points, about the same lead as he enjoys in most opinion polls.

But clinks of hope do remain for Mr Dole. One is that three out of four voters considered he had done "better than expected", more encouraging still, perhaps, a quarter of the electorate still says it might change its mind. For Republicans this is proof that while the President's support might be broad, it is not deep.

Hoping to build on his debate showing, Mr Dole is sealing a book with his own two-day bus tour through the crucial swing-state of New Jersey, bannering Mr Clinton's failure to deliver the middle-class tax-cut he promised in 1992, and promoting his own 15-per-cent across-the-board reduction.

"Bob Dole keeps his word," he repeated, mantra-like, at Toms River, 60 miles south of New York City. Alongside him stood Christine Todd Whitman, New Jersey's popular Republican

## THE US PRESIDENTIAL ELECTIONS

Governor, whose tax cuts have made her an ideological poster-girl of the party. Even so, Mr Dole is trails Mr Clinton by 15 points or more in New Jersey, one of a group of industrial states he virtually must carry if he is to win the White House.

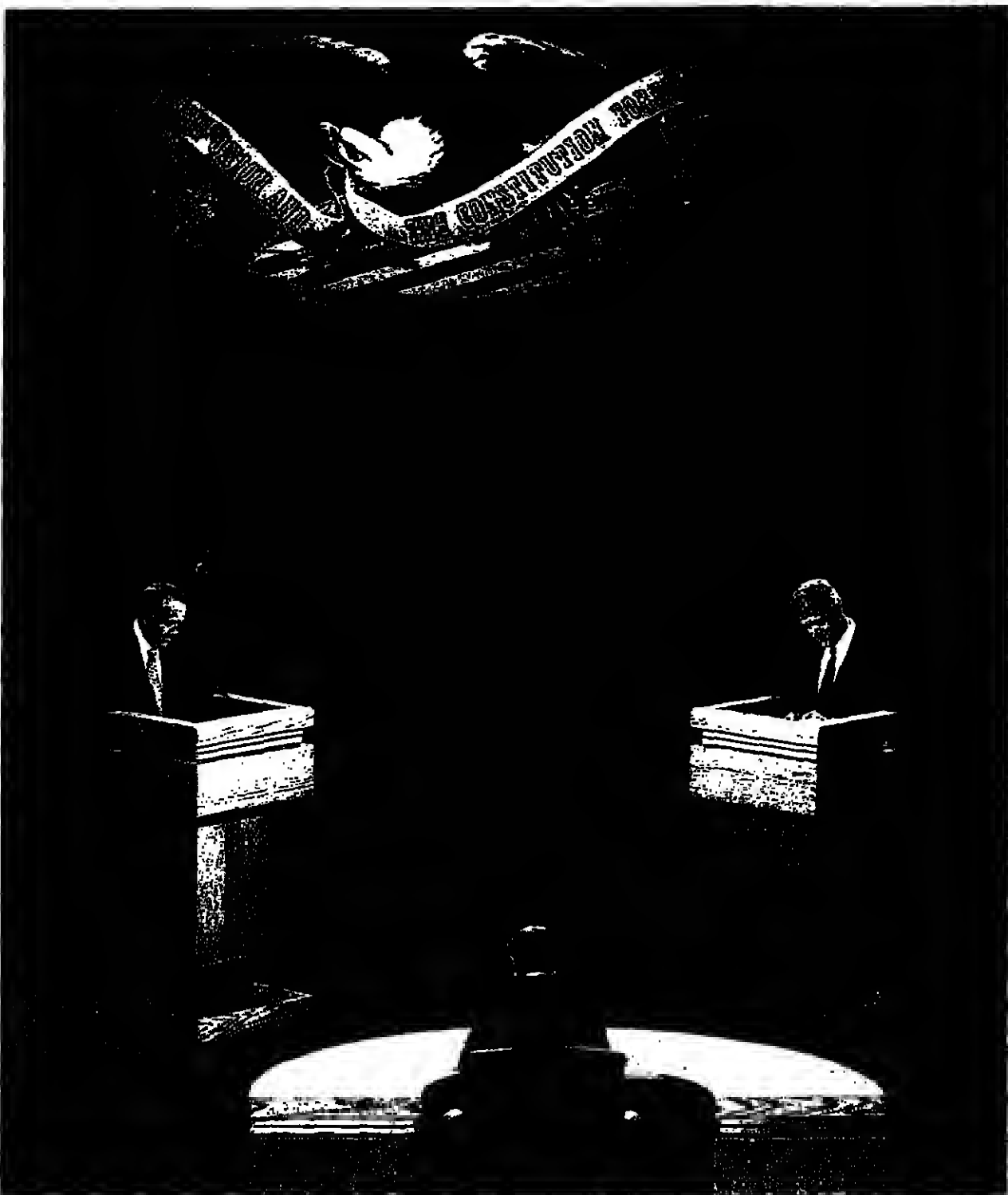
Mr Clinton was holding rallies in Maine and New Hampshire, part of a north-east he seems set to sweep. If trends hold, Mr Dole will lose in every state between Canada and the Virginia border, representing 127 electoral-college votes of the 270 required to win. But, however daunting the mountain their candidate must climb, Republican spokesmen bailed Sunday as the dawn of a "new day", a sign that the dynamic of the race is about to change.

The debate's format of separate responses to a moderator — the much-respected but low-key Jim Lehrer of PBS — permitted no direct give-and-take between the candidates. But Mr Dole did go some way towards banishing the scowling, "mean" image which has dogged his career. And shaking loose his reputation as a wretched public speaker, he smiled constantly and told good jokes.

"I don't know if everyone's better off than four years ago," he remarked at one point, "but the President certainly is and so is Saddam Hussein." Then Mr Dole delivered a crack at liberal tax-and-spend Democrats. "Let me tax your memories," Mr Dole said he began a Senate-floor speech once — only for Senator Edward Kennedy to leap to his feet. "Why haven't we thought of that before?"

For the rest, however, the two men mostly traded selective statistics to illustrate their points. Mr Clinton to buttress his claims that the economy was stronger than in decades, his opponent to claim that, despite the surge on Wall Street and the tumbling budget deficit, ordinary Americans were more fearful for their future than ever.

But for most analysts here, Mr Dole has yet to fulfil the central task of a challenger — of explaining why an incumbent who has made no egregious blunders should be ejected from office. Had he won the debate, he was asked afterwards. "No," came candidate Dole's typically laconic, self-deprecating reply. "I don't know. We showed up. Given the low expectations beforehand, just showing up may have been a feat. Whether it is enough to turn the tide, however, is another matter."



Stand and deliver: Bob Dole (left) and Bill Clinton in action during their campaign debate

Photograph: Reuters

## Latinos flex political muscle

Austin — "Register to Vote" was the cry heard last weekend all over East Austin, home of the city's Latino community. Volunteers from the Southwest Voter Registration Education Project went door-to-door and sat at tables outside Catholic churches and supermarkets in the 80F sunshine.

The effort was part of Latino Vote USA, a national campaign to register 1 million new voters for the 5 November election by last Sunday's deadline. The campaigners also spread the word about the first-ever major Latino march on Washington DC, to take place on 12

## ★ TEXAS TALES

Elaine Davenport on her state's build-up to the poll

October. Tens of thousands of Latinos from across the country are expected to deliver the message that their numbers are growing and that Latinos matter.

There was emphasis last weekend not only on voters-to-be, but also on those already registered, who were asked to sign a pledge to go out and vote. The pledge card was added in recognition of the difference a large Latino turnout could make in a state where they make up 28 per cent of the population and are expected to outnumber Anglos as the majority ethnic group by 2010.

"We see we have some power this time," Robert Douley, a member of the Southwest Voter steering committee, said. He refers to the growing number of Latinos in Texas, the growing number registered to vote, and the probability that the race for the US Senate between Victor Morales, the Latino name highest on all Texas ballots, and Phil Gramm, a Republican, will bring a record number to the polls.

The frosting on the cake is national influence. Since Latinos tend to vote Democrat, a large turnout may alter whether

a big chunk of electoral votes for president goes to Bob Dole or Bill Clinton, who are in a dead heat in the Texas polls. The Democrats have not carried the presidential vote in Texas since Jimmy Carter won in 1976, but while Mr Clinton does not need the state to win re-election, it is a must for Mr Dole.

The race is between Mr Morales, the teacher who came from nowhere with no money and campaigned in a little white pick-up truck to win the Democratic nomination, and Mr Gramm, who has been Senator for 12 years. Early this year, Mr Gramm was sent running back to Texas with his tail between his legs after caucuses in Iowa and Louisiana rejected his I-want-to-be-President attempt and he was forced to pull out in New Hampshire.

Mr Morales, who is billed as David vs Goliath, Senor Smith Goes To Washington, or Don Quixote in a Pick-up Truck, has enjoyed the national spotlight during his rise to prominence. He beat two incumbent congressmen to get the nomination, spoke at the Democratic National Convention and spent a day last month with Mr Clinton on his Texas tour.

"At least I didn't pass out," said Mr Morales, openly excited to be with the President. He continues to rely on his image as a sweet, naive, honest guy. He stresses he is not Phil Gramm, known for a masterful use of negative advertising and accepting money from all sources.

Mr Morales's short political career has been defined by defiance of conventional political wisdom, most notably on 25 September when he said Congressman Henry Bonilla, the state's first Latino Republican to hold national office, was a "wannabe white" who reminded him of the Hispanics he called "coconuts" as a kid — "white on the inside, brown on the outside". This set off storms of protest from Mr Gramm's supporters, including Haley Barbour, Republican National Committee Chairman, who called his words "abhorrent and indefensible".

The reaction was different in Austin's Latino community. "He didn't say anything new," Valerie Menard, associate editor of *Hispanic Magazine*, said. "It's just fact," Mr Douley said, as he registered voters. "It helps define the issues."

"I used terms I should not have," Mr Morales said in a sideways apology. "Public discourse should be conducted on a higher plane." Before the "coconut" remark, Mr Morales was losing to Mr Gramm in the polls by 16 percentage points; no poll has been released since.

## significant shorts

## Swiss Bank to fight £13bn Jewish claim

Switzerland's biggest bank ruled out an out-of-court settlement of a \$20bn (£13bn) lawsuit filed in New York by a Holocaust survivor who says Swiss banks may be hiding her family's wealth.

The Union Bank of Switzerland (UBS) vowed to fight the class-action suit, which claims Swiss banks withheld accounts from the heirs of Jews murdered in the Holocaust. The suit was filed last week in Brooklyn federal court by Gisella Weissman, 66, on behalf of all heirs of Holocaust victims who had deposited money and property in various Swiss banks for safe-keeping as Nazi terror spread over Europe. *Reuter — Zurich*

## South Korea claims 'spy' is a missionary

South Korea said a US citizen held in North Korea on spy charges was a China-based missionary, and denied allegations that he was working for Seoul. A foreign ministry spokesman said he believed Evan Carl Hunziker was engaged in missionary work in an area of north-east China, bordering North Korea. He said Hunziker had South Korean ancestry on his mother's side. Pyongyang said on Sunday that Hunziker was arrested on 24 August, after crossing the Amnok river from China and had been charged with spying for the South. The charges carry a possible death penalty. *Reuter — Seoul*

## China charges dissident

Chinese prosecutors have charged the dissident and former student leader, Wang Dan, with plotting to overthrow the government. Chinese sources said. A court in Peking was expected to deliver a verdict on Mr Wang's case this week, said one source. At the same time, the authorities said the sole surviving member of the notorious Gang of Four, led by Jiang Qing, the wife of Chairman Mao Zedong, had been freed after serving a 20-year term for subversive crimes. Yao Wenxuan, 64, was arrested on 6 October, 1976. *Reuter — Peking*

## Belgian PM to step down

The Belgian Prime Minister, Jean-Luc Dehaene, will not make a bid for a third term. *De Standaard* newspaper said. "After two mandates, one has probably given the



## Medical tests for the Pope

The Pope, described as a "good patient" with a strong heart, completed a battery of medical tests ahead of the appendix surgery which has unleashed a flurry of speculation about the true state of his health. The Vatican and doctors confirmed the operation would take place today. *Reuter — Rome*

best one has," Mr Dehaene said. "In one's own interest, it is best to stop then." Mr Dehaene became prime minister in March 1992, and started his second term in June 1995. In 1994, he narrowly lost a bid to become president of the European Commission because of a veto by John Major, who considered him too pro-European. *Reuter — Brussels*

## Zulus pull out of SA talks

Zulu nationalists again pulled out of constitutional negotiations, one week after ending their 18-month boycott of the assembly drafting South Africa's blue print for all-race democracy. An Inkatha Freedom Party negotiator said his party had failed to reach agreement with the majority ANC in a dispute over how closely local governments should adhere to traditional tribal structure. *AP — Cape Town*

## Deadline for UAE aliens

More than 144,000 illegal workers have left the United Arab Emirates ahead of a new law cracking down on unlawful foreign labour, an Interior Ministry spokesman said. The spokesman urged all others to leave by the end of October, the deadline the government had set for illegal aliens to leave or legalise their stay. *Reuter — Dubai*

## Old amber to reveal secrets

Amber found in the mountains of Lebanon has been confirmed as the oldest in the world, dating back 125 million years, and insects trapped in it could lead to scientific advances, a Lebanese scientist said. The amber also contains plants far older than those found in Baltic amber which dates back 35 million years. Professor Georges Tobme, head of Lebanon's National Council for Scientific Research said. *Reuter — Bangalore*

## Top guard for Miss World

The Miss World beauty contest in India next month will be guarded by crack commandos and around 1,000 policemen, the police chief in Bangalore said. The leader of a populist group had threatened to set alight the show's venue, and activists from the Mahila Jagaran (Forum to Awaken Women) have threatened that one of the group will commit suicide on each of the 17 days leading up to the pageant, on 23 November. *Reuter — Bangalore*

## New Zealand's PM fights for survival as opposition rises spectacularly in polls

DAVID BARBER Wellington

New Zealand moved into the final stage of a historic election campaign at the weekend with the Prime Minister, Jim Bolger, and his conservative National Party, who have governed for the last six years, fighting for survival.

With the latest opinion polls showing support for Helen Clark and the main opposition Labour Party rising spectacularly, Mr Bolger's party was hoping for an Oscar-winning performance in last night's nationwide television leaders' debate to put him back in the running for a third three-year term.

Ms Clark dominated the first debate 11 days ago and has gone from strength to strength since with leading analysts and commentators tipping her to lead a centre-left coalition after next Saturday's election.

Mr Bolger has conducted a

lacklustre campaign and although the National Party easily heads the polls, an absolute majority seems out of reach and its potential coalition partners are struggling to reach the 5 per cent voting threshold needed to guarantee seats in Parliament.

The election will be New Zealand's first under the German-style mixed-member proportional (MMP) system which will end 140 years of Westminster-style first-past-the-post voting and the National and Labour parties' 58-year stranglehold on power. The system will give minor parties more MPs in the expanded 120-seat House of Representatives and almost certainly produce a coalition government.

Ms Clark's future as New Zealand's first female prime minister is not, however, assured. She will have to reach a coalition agreement with the nationalist New Zealand First party and govern with the sup-

port of the left-wing NZ Alliance. Two major opinion polls at the weekend showed the three parties sharing 73 seats in the next Parliament, against 46 for National and one for its coalition partners United NZ. Labour would be the dominant partner with 33 to 37 seats.

The Alliance has ruled out joining any formal coalition after the election but its leader, Jim Anderton, has said it would give Labour conditional support in exchange for adapting some Alliance policies.

The three parties have major policy differences, and have bitterly attacked each other on the hustings but they share one common objective — ousting the National Party government.

Ms Clark's credibility as potential leader of this disparate group was undermined last week by former Labour prime minister David Lange, who has retired from politics. He said there was no way the three parties could

work together. "There's too much hatred, there's too much baggage and ill-will, there's too much history and there's too much madness," Ms Clark dubbed him "irrelevant", but his comments were seen as hurting Labour, which is trying to position itself as a united party, fit to lead a consensus government.

Mr Bolger's best chance of hanging on would be as leader of a minority National government if the others could not reach a coalition agreement. This would almost certainly be a caretaker arrangement, pending another election early next year.

The kingmaker after next Saturday is likely to be Winston Peters, a former National Party cabinet minister sacked by Mr Bolger, who now leads NZ First. Polls indicate that a National-NZ First coalition would have a majority, but Mr Peters has stepped up his attacks on the National Party and would not work with Mr Bolger.

With polls indicating that health and education are the main issues for voters, following widespread dissatisfaction with the government's policies, Mr Bolger has campaigned on the need for continuity to maintain New Zealand's economic recovery. He has increasingly used scare tactics, predicting that a centre-left coalition would raise taxes, push up interest rates and inflation, drive off foreign investors and provoke "the crash of '97". "If it happens, you'll wake up the morning after, put your head in your hands and weep 'Sunday, bloody Sunday'," he said last week.

The tactic backfired when the stock market rose, some banks dropped interest rates and the New York-based agency Standard and Poors said that it was relaxed about a Labour-led government and would not downgrade New Zealand's credit rating.

**ARE YOU SUBSIDISING DISHONEST CLAIMANTS?**

Some people disguise the premiums. But at General fact they've made lots of insurance claims by changing their insurance company. That way they avoid paying higher

**General Accident Direct**

Accident Direct we can trace their insurance histories. So we don't make you subsidise the dishonest.

FOR BUILDINGS & CONTENTS INSURANCE  
**FREEPHONE 0800 121 004**  
PAY BY INSTALLMENTS INTEREST FREE

MOTOR 0800 121 000  
MORTGAGE PAYMENT PROTECTION 0800 121 008 • TRAVEL 0800 121 007  
Weekdays 9am - 9pm. Sat 9am - 5pm.

\*Applies to Buildings and Contents and Motor insurance only. Written details on request.  
http://www.ga.co.uk/gadirect



Far East: A territorial dispute inspires patriotic fervour in Hong Kong and Taiwan, but fails to stir the emotions in Japan

# China's latent loathing erupts in island spat

STEPHEN VINES  
Hong Kong

Such is the fervour now surrounding the Sino-Japanese dispute over sovereignty of a small group of islands known by the Chinese as the Diaoyu and by Japan as the Senkaku, that the smallest symbolic victory is being hailed as a great achievement.

Yesterday a handful of Chinese protesters managed to make a brief landing on the Japanese-controlled islands. There they raised the flags of both China and Taiwan before rushing to rejoin a 50-strong flotilla which set off from Taiwan with about 300 Taiwanese, Hong Kong and Macau Chinese patriots, intent on making a symbolic gesture of Chinese sovereignty over the islands.

Su Chi, a Taiwan government spokesman, hailed the landing as an "act of patriotism to protect our land". In Hong Kong, legislators rushed to praise the "heroes" of the brief excursion in the East China Sea.

The Diaoyus have become an extraordinarily powerful nationalist rallying point for Chinese people outside China - where the government is keeping a lid on demonstrations, fearing that spontaneous displays of na-

tionalist emotion may spill over into other forms of protest.

In a weekend radio broadcast the Hong Kong legislator Tung Kin-kee said that "the tiny Diaoyu islands have woken us up from our sweet dreams". He was referring to the dream that China had "regained its political muscle" and did not need to "tolerate any snub by foreign superpowers".

Although they are uninhabited, the Diaoyus are a reminder of America's global power: Washington handed the islands to Japan in 1972 as part of a package concerning the return of Okinawa, which was then occupied by US forces.

After major protests, the issue lay dormant until last July when a group of Japanese nationalists established a symbolic lighthouse and a Japanese flag on one of the islands in order to re-assert Japanese sovereignty.

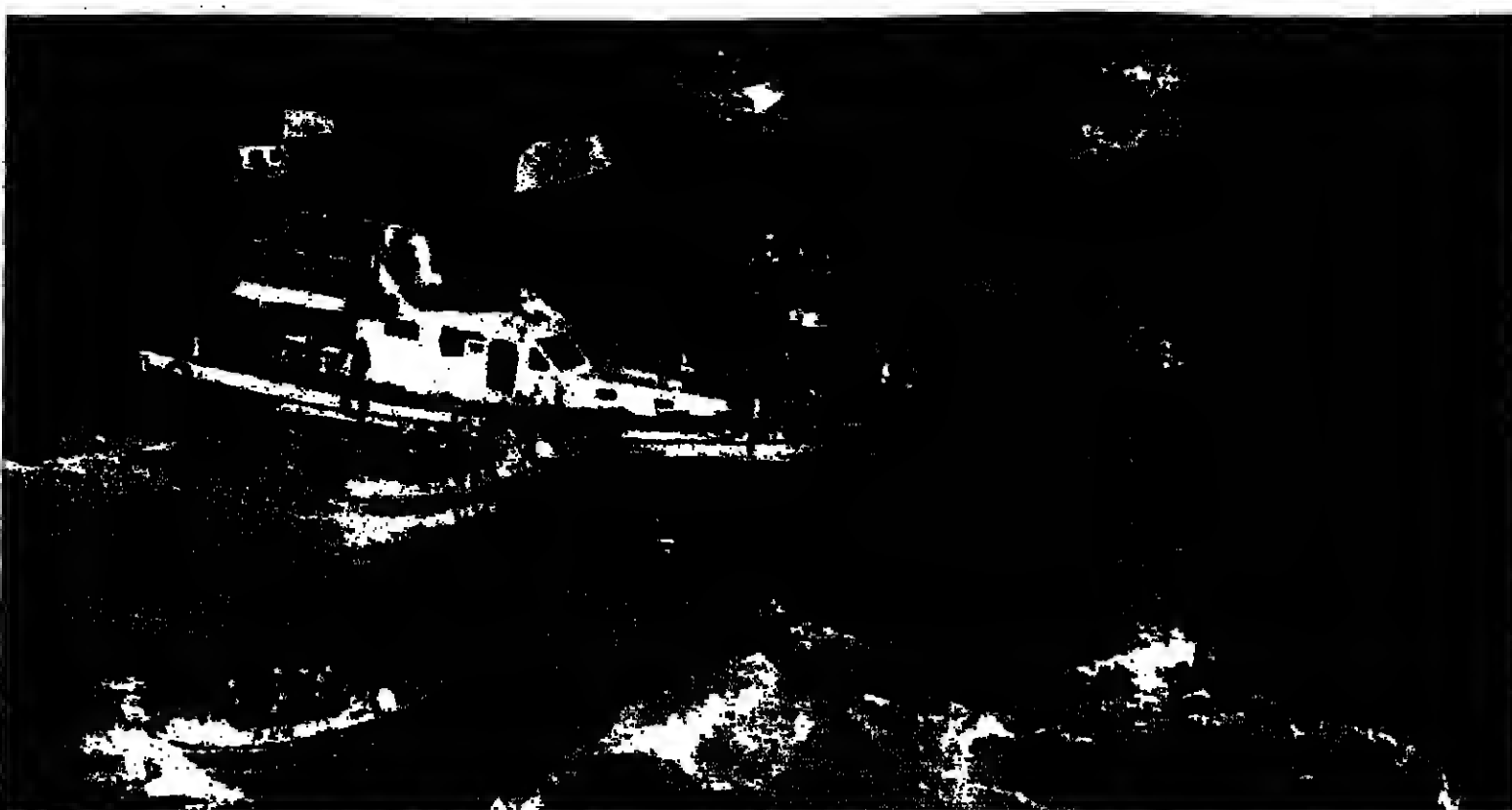
Since then protests have intensified, particularly in Hong Kong where there have been unprecedented displays of patriotic fervour. Schools throughout the territory observed a one-minute silence to protest against the Japanese occupation of the islands; the use of their Japanese name by the colony's Chief Secretary, Anson Chan, triggered an avalanche of protests, and a disc jockey took an overdose after being showered with abuse for suggesting some of the money spent on protests could have been better used.

The protests intensified after they claimed their first martyr. David Chan, a former television journalist and aspiring politician drowned after attempting to swim towards the islands after the first flotilla set sail. Chan, hitherto a despised political opportunist, had many of the colony's leading political figures at his funeral over the weekend, and his death spurred the largest rally since the 1989 Tiananmen Square protests.

A survey of people aged between 15 and 29, published yesterday, showed that half of them believed that the Diaoyu

dispute had stiffened their Chinese identity. A remarkable 40 per cent said they had taken part in protests about the islands and 37 per cent said they were boycotting Japanese products.

As well as bringing out the usually well-hidden anti-Japanese feelings, which date back to Japan's atrocities against the Chinese in the Second World War, the protests have given overseas Chinese communities a rare opportunity to identify with their mother country, even though most of those leading the protests are bitterly critical of the Communist government.



Making waves: A fishing boat, flying the Taiwan flag, is surrounded by Japanese coastguards off one of the disputed Diaoyu islands. Photograph: AP

## BT cut 21% off weekend calls to India and Pakistan.



## Nationalists win scant regard on streets of Tokyo

RICHARD LLOYD PARRY  
Tokyo

Every other day or so, the crowded streets of Tokyo are transformed by a terrifying apparition. It comes in the form of black vans, driven at a snail's pace along some of the city's busiest roads, and manned by grim-faced men dressed in quasi-military uniforms. The trucks are mounted with loudspeakers and from them comes ear-splitting martial music, interspersed with incomprehensible slogans.

The black vans, screened by wire mesh and decorated with Rising Sun flags and angry Japanese characters, look and sound like demonic ice cream vans. But most remarkable is the behaviour of the ordinary Japanese: despite the unbear-

able din, the bizarre spectacle, and the traffic jams, nobody pays the vans the slightest attention. These are the vans of the *yoiku*, the representatives of Japan's ultra nationalist right wing, and the reaction they provoke on the streets of Tokyo exemplifies their status in the country as a whole. Ever since its wartime defeat, Japan has had a small, and absurdly vociferous, far right. It loathes an assortment of enemies: principally communists, and those who denigrate Japan's wartime occupation of large parts of Asia. Many of its adherents have links with the *yakuza*, or organised crime syndicates.

But rather than denouncing them, embracing them, or even just laughing at them, most Japanese prefer simply to pretend that they are not there.

The tendency has been particularly noticeable in the last few weeks, during the escalating squabble over the small group of islands in the East China Sea called, in Japanese, the

Senkaku chain. The islands, which are also claimed by Taiwan and China, became the focus of dispute in July when an *yoiku* group erected a beacon on one of the chain. This provoked protests from Chinese nationalists in Taiwan and Hong Kong. Two weeks ago, a protester died after leaping into the sea from a ship near the islands. Yesterday, demonstrators planted Chinese and Taiwanese flags on one of them, as 30 ships from both territories dodged patrolling Japanese coast guards.

The squabble has received scant coverage in most Japanese newspapers. The government insists, when pushed, that the islands are Japan's, but prefers not to discuss the issue. But despite official calls for calm on all sides, the issue has crept onto the political agenda.

The reason is simple: in less than two weeks, Japan faces general parliamentary elections. Six main parties are competing, and they can hardly find a significant issue to disagree on. All are in favour of welfare for the aged, gentle support for the economy, and reform of Japan's powerful bureaucracy. The outcome will depend on the effectiveness of local party machines, thrown into uncertainty by a new voting system.

Strongest among the parties is the Liberal Democratic Party which hopes to win back a full majority, and escape the feeble coalition government in which it has been trapped for two years. Last week it openly asserted Japanese sovereignty over the Senkakus, and two other islands occupied by South Korea.

Since the last election, Japanese politics has taken a mild but distinct turn to the right. This month's polls will probably see the virtual eclipse of the old Socialist Party, which opposes anything smacking of nationalism.

The LDP is very likely to miss an outright majority, and will be forced to jettison its most extreme policies in order to win over coalition partners. When the election is over, Tokyo will once again be able to pretend that the *yoiku* are not there.

The government prefers not to discuss the issue of the islands

able din, the bizarre spectacle, and the traffic jams, nobody pays the vans the slightest attention. These are the vans of the *yoiku*, the representatives of Japan's ultra nationalist right wing, and the reaction they provoke on the streets of Tokyo exemplifies their status in the country as a whole. Ever since its wartime defeat, Japan has had a small, and absurdly vociferous, far right. It loathes an assortment of enemies: principally communists, and those who denigrate Japan's wartime occupation of large parts of Asia. Many of its adherents have links with the *yakuza*, or organised crime syndicates.

But rather than denouncing them, embracing them, or even just laughing at them, most Japanese prefer simply to pretend that they are not there.

5 minute weekend call to India, Pakistan, Bangladesh and Sri Lanka.	Before 7th September	After 7th September	With Friends & Family	With Friends & Family and PremierLine
	£6.32	£4.95	£4.46	£3.72

TO FIND OUT WHAT YOU COULD SAVE RING THE NUMBER BELOW.

October 8th. Massive price cuts. BT Freefone 0800 003 800

5p MINIMUM CHARGE PER CALL. DIRECT DIALLED CALLS ONLY. EXCLUDES CALLS TO BT PUBLIC PAYPHONES AND BY CHARGECARD CALLS. FRIENDS & FAMILY IS AVAILABLE ON ONE INTERNATIONAL NUMBER. FRIENDS & FAMILY NOT AVAILABLE WITH THE LIGHT USER SCHEME. DISCOUNTS START FROM CUSTOMER'S NEXT AVAILABLE BILL. PREMIERLINE SUBSCRIPTION IS £6 PER QUARTER.



## international

# Yeltsin's tennis coach, the sports fund and the general who demanded \$40m



Driving force: General Alexander Kozhakov, head of the presidential guard, is alleged to have demanded that Boris Fyodorov hand him \$40m from the sports foundation

Photograph: Foto Loods

Moscow — Were it happening in the United States, the country would now be rubbing its palms in glee at the prospect of a merciless series of congressional hearings. Politicians would be bankrupting themselves with lawyers' fees, and the media's top sights would have already churned out enough newsprint on the subject to wallpaper the White House.

But Russia lacks the institutions to wrinkle out a big scandal with any speed, particularly one which involves a cast of characters who were once among Boris Yeltsin's closest associates. Although this affair involves allegations of attempted murder, embezzlement, and blackmail, the few details that have emerged have dribbled out painstakingly slowly.

At its centre is an organisation called the National Sports Foundation, which was co-founded by Shamil Tarpishev, who was Mr Yeltsin's tennis coach — in the days when the President was well

Russia lacks the resources to expose the latest political scandal, writes **Phil Reeves**

enough to hit a ball — and also his sports minister. For several years, Mr Tarpishev was also one of Mr Yeltsin's best friends, whom the President lauded in his autobiography as a man with whom he had a "real understanding"; this weekend he abruptly fired him. The official explanation was thin on detail: according to Russia's state-run ORT television station, it was because his name had been linked with scandals.

The foundation's activities have been the subject of speculation since December 1993, when Mr Yeltsin signed a decree granting it tax exemptions over the import of alcohol and tobacco. Ostensibly, the idea was to raise money to help sport, but it quickly grew into a multi-million dollar enterprise which exercised a virtual monopoly over the lucrative imported vodka market.

Allegations of foul play were soon flying. Prominent among its accusers was Anatoly Chubais, Russia's former privatisation minister, Mr Yeltsin's chief of staff. Last year he claimed that the tax breaks enjoyed by the fund (and several other veterans' organisations, which had similar privileges) enabled them to withhold \$4.2bn (£2.7bn) from Russia's impover-

ished treasury in 1994 alone. Only a small proportion of this ended up in the hands of sportsmen and veterans, he said. Although the tax breaks were cancelled last year, the issue has smouldered on, spawning rumours that foundation money was a Kremlin slush fund, which

The allegations belong to a Kremlin intrigue as tangled as any of the many plots that have peppered its history

was used to finance Mr Yeltsin's super-slick presidential campaign. On Sunday, there was a new twist when Boris Fyodorov, a former chairman of the fund, alleged that the head of the presidential guard, General Alexander Kozhakov, along with his deputy, had invited him into his Kremlin office and demanded that he give him \$40m from its coffers. "They told

me, you have stolen so much, now it's time to share," Mr Fyodorov told a current affairs programme on NTV. He also said Mr Tarpishev, a close ally of General Kozhakov, had demanded money.

The allegations appear to belong to a Kremlin intrigue

which is as tangled as any of the many plots that have peppered its history. Conspiracy theorists are now pondering whether it was related to an incident in June, several weeks before Mr Yeltsin's re-election, when General Kozhakov was dismissed after his guards detained two of the President's top campaign workers as they walked out of the White House

security chief, Alexander Lebed, who is openly campaigning to be Russia's next president. Mr Fyodorov's blackmail accusation against General Kozhakov — who was Mr Yeltsin's closest confidant for several years — remains unproven; he denied them when they were mooted earlier this year. One possible alternative explanation was offered by NTV, which linked Mr Fyodorov's allegation with an attempt by Kremlin insiders to suppress Mr Lebed's attempt to raise finance for his bid for power — by discrediting his potential financial backer, General Kozhakov.

But there is also no doubt that Mr Fyodorov has touched a nerve. In June, he was stabbed and shot outside his apartment in what appears to have been an assassination attempt by contract killers. The previous month he was arrested and

held for several days on drugs charges, before being sacked from the fund chairmanship. But he was also chairman of a troubled bank, which may have made him a Mafia target.

As the plot thickens, a government prosecutor is reportedly labouring away on the case. The chances that his inquiries will come up with much seem remote. Russia is awash with corruption, and stories of official skulduggery are so commonplace that they are usually greeted with resignation. Russian journalists who have tried to dig out the dirt have suffered threats and even death.

And the badly-equipped crime fighting authorities have more than enough work on their hands; there were 24,000 murders and attempted murders in Russia in the first nine months of 1996, the Interior Minister, Anatoly Kulikov said yesterday. The odds are that this, the Kremlin's answer to White-water, will eventually fade away.

## Nato growth 'threat' to arms talks

SARA HELM  
Brussels

On his first visit to the West, Alexander Lebed, Russia's security chief, yesterday renewed his warnings about the danger of Nato enlargement, saying the move threatened arms control deals and could destabilise Russia.

During talks with the Nato leaders in Brussels, Mr Lebed appeared to be calling for the alliance to give Russia a veto over any decisions to take in new members to the East.

He told Nato that Russia is "half of Europe" and that any plans for the organisation's enlargement should first be agreed under a legally binding treaty with Moscow. Mr Lebed made clear that if Nato proceeded on its own terms, the Russian parliament would probably refuse to ratify the Start II arms control deal.

Mr Lebed appeared to suggest to the media that Nato enlargement should be postponed altogether. "I propose today to put off this question of should Nato enlarge or should it not and let the next generation decide," he said.

Mr Lebed's comments on enlargement had been anxiously awaited by the ambassadors of the 16 member states. The alliance's plans to take in new members from Eastern European countries have been running into ever stiffer opposition from Russian hardliners, with Mr Lebed among the leading critics.

Nato officials at first stressed that talks with the general had been civilised and constructive. Xavier Solana, Nato's Secretary-General, said that the alliance was determined to show Mr Lebed that "Nato is no threat to Russia and even an enlarged Nato is no threat to Russia". However, it later became clear that there had been little meeting of minds.

During the talks Mr Lebed repeatedly referred to Nato as a "strike fist", until Mr Solana reminded Mr Lebed that Nato is "an open hand". While Mr Lebed's tone was "mild and measured", the content of the talks was described by senior Nato sources as "fairly negative". At one point the general appeared to give Nato the green light on enlargement, saying Russia would not be "hysterical" if it happened. However, the general's most important message was that Russia must be given a say in when Nato enlarges and with which country.

While Nato has reassured Moscow that it will strengthen ties with Russia in a form of charter, to be discussed in parallel with accession of new members, Moscow continues to call for a legally binding treaty under which the process would be subject to joint decisions. Mr Lebed a treaty "which is specific in its legal implications" was needed and he added that arms control treaties would be signed "in that context".

"We need to establish the kind of system of decision making together," said Mr Lebed, before adding: "Upon this will depend the future of the planet we call Earth."

**IN documents that detail a French mission to disarm Robert Fisk Page 12**

## Budget cuts shoot down Franco-German satellite

IMRE KARACS  
Bonn

The soaring emblem of the new Franco-German military alliance is about to fall victim to German budget cuts, shot down in the effort to launch European monetary union on schedule.

Defence ministry officials in Bonn yesterday confirmed that Germany could not afford the Helios II spy satellite, a French device aimed at creating an independent European eye in space. A government spokesman indicated for the first time that the decision about the project would be taken later this year by the cash-strapped ministries concerned, all of whom virulently oppose Helios.

Bonn has never been interested in patrolling the final frontier, and Germans in any case have always suspected that Helios had more to do with Gaullist virility than intelligence. Nevertheless, in the spirit of co-operation, Chancellor Helmut Kohl last year gave his word to President Jacques Chirac that Germany would come on board.

Until now, the European states belonging to Nato had

been buying satellite information from the US, at a price the French consider inflated. France is also trying to loosen Europe's dependence on US technology, while Germany's main security concern is to tie the Americans into the continent's defence as firmly as possible.

Where geopolitics failed, economics will prevail. Germany's share of the bill for technology it does not want is estimated to be in excess of Dm3bn (£1.3bn). What it gets in return is a satellite whose scanners cannot penetrate the clouds — a distinct disadvantage at Europe's temperate latitudes. The French also have grand designs for a radar satellite called Horus which could see through the clouds, but at a cost that is reputed to be stratospheric.

"We must now secure the perimeter, the structure and the deployment of the German armed forces," said a defence ministry official. "There is no choice but to reduce procurement."

The defence ministry was among the hardest hit in the latest round of cost-cutting, aimed at bringing the budget deficit below the 3 per cent demand-

ed by the Maastricht treaty. Volker Ruhe, the defence minister, protested when he was presented with a 4 per cent budget cut, and when he was asked to nominate projects for the chop, he put Helios top of the list.

He was then overruled by Mr Kohl, but ever since he has been fighting a rear-guard battle. According to his ministry, either Helios is grounded or the Luftwaffe must cancel its order for the new Eurofighter aircraft. Mr Kohl has already been forced to inform Paris that another important Franco-German project, a missile system, will have to be jettisoned.

Apart from damaging Mr Kohl's personal prestige, the abandonment of Helios would deal a severe blow to the fragile relationship between France and Germany. Paris has adopted a hard line. Asked whether France would be prepared to postpone Helios, Charles Millon, the defence minister, replied: "No, no, no."

Herve de Charette, the foreign minister, told his German counterpart in Berlin yesterday: "We French need you more than ever." The Germans are inclined to say: "Tough."

## Corsicans claim Bordeaux bomb

Ajaccio (AP) — A Corsican separatist group yesterday claimed responsibility for a bomb that heavily damaged Bordeaux's town hall late on Saturday evening. French Prime Minister, Alain Juppé, who is the mayor of the city, has now vowed to dismantle the group.

The government is committed to fighting terrorising Corsicans with the same fervour used to dismantle a network of Islamic extremists which claimed responsibility for a series of bombings last year.

The Historic Wing of the Front for the National Liberation of Corsica, also known by its French acronym, FLNC, claimed responsibility for the Bordeaux bomb in a communiqué which read: "Claim: attack city hall of Bordeaux

10/5/96. FLNC". No one was injured in the attack.

Mr Juppé's office ordered increased protection for "sensitive sites in Paris and several big cities", and on Monday vowed "to fight terrorism in all its forms in Corsica, as in any other part of the national territory, with the same determination as that used last year when our country was confronted with other terrorist violence".

The statement showed a tough new stance against violence by Corsican separatists, who have always spared lives in their campaign for independence. The attacks have, for the most part, been restricted to Corsica itself. But the bombing of Bordeaux town hall was by far the most spectacular attack on mainland France.

The CO-OPERATIVE BANK

**7.9% APR**

GUARANTEED UNTIL APRIL '97

## The lowest APR by far.

UK's lowest credit card rate  
No annual fee  
Just 10.9% APR variable from April '97  
Keep your credit limit  
No need to bank with us

Do you tend to borrow on your credit card? Then this Co-operative Bank Advantage Visa Credit Card is for you. It has no interest free period, meaning we can offer an incredible deal starting with the UK's lowest APR by far: just 7.9%.

This is guaranteed until April '97 and works out at only 0.64% per month. After that, you'll still only pay a super-low 10.9% APR variable (0.87% per month). Typically, you're looking at saving up to £550 over two years!

More good news: we'll match your highest current credit card limit, and we won't charge you a fee for your card. You don't have to bank with us, so call us free now.

Post to Visa dept. The Co-operative Bank plc, FREEPOST (M8) 192, Manchester M1 9AZ or phone 0800 0800 99 (24 hours a day, 7 days a week). Please use block capitals.

Full name \_\_\_\_\_ Address \_\_\_\_\_

Postcode \_\_\_\_\_ Phone number (inc. STD) \_\_\_\_\_

**0800 0800 99**

LIMITED OFFER - APPLY NOW. CALL FREE 7 DAYS, 24 HOURS. QUOTING REF75403.

THE BANK HAS ONLINE AND APPLICATIONS. CREDIT FACILITIES ARE SUBJECT TO STATUS AND NOT AVAILABLE TO MINORS. WRITTEN QUOTATIONS ARE AVAILABLE ON REQUEST. INFORMATION PROVIDED IS FOR INFORMATION ONLY. A CREDIT REFERENCE AGENCY FOR CLIENT ASSESSMENT. A COPY OF THE ENQUIRY MAY BE RETURNED. TYPICAL EXAMPLE IS BASED ON A BALANCE OF £1,000 THAT REMAINS CONSTANT OVER 24 MONTHS. BANCAR'S BANK VISA CARD IS 21.3% APR. WOULD COST £117.20. THAT MEANS YOUR CARD OF 7.9% APR WOULD COST £117.20. THE CO-OPERATIVE BANK VISA CARD OF 10.9% APR WOULD COST £117.20.

A CABLE & WIRELESS COMPANY

**STILL 20% CHEAPER**

**YOU FIND THE BEST BARGAINS IN THE SMALL ADS.**

Seen those huge ads by BT? Pay their price cuts aren't on the same scale. We're still at least 20% cheaper for international phone calls weekly evenings and all weekend.

For details FreeCall 0500 500 366.

**Mercury SmartCall**

You don't have to be a genius to see how much you'll save.

Prices and settings will continue to be revised on 8 October 1996, compared to BT's last year for international calls of 2 minutes or more, open-line overhead and any time in weekend. Savings available for a quarterly fee of £2.50 (inc. VAT).

معلومات إضافية







## international

# The damning truth written on the pages of Document No. 3206

## BACK TO BOSNIA

After one year of peace, Robert Fisk continues his journey in the former Yugoslavia. His second report tells of betrayal at Srebrenica by UN 'protectors'

The official orders to the United Nations' Dutch battalion to protect the Muslim refugees of Srebrenica still exist. Marked "Most Immediate - Restricted", and signed by General H. Gobillard, the acting commander of the UN's "Protection Force" in Bosnia, they were sent to Colonel Tom Kerremans in the Serb-surrounded enclave at 18.27 hours on 11 July last year.

"Enter into local negotiations with BSA [Bosnian Serb Army] forces for immediate ceasefire," Gobillard ordered. "Giving up any weapons and military equipment is not authorised and is not a point of discussion."

The document - File No 3206 in the official UN log, which has been obtained by *The Independent* - is a fearful reminder to the survivors of the Western world's betrayal. "Take all reasonable (sic) measures to protect refugees and civilians in your care," the orders go on. "Continue with all possible means to defend your forces and installation from attack. This is to include the use of close air support if necessary. Be prepared to receive and coordinate delivery of medical and other relief supplies to refugees."

Hassan Nuhanovic smiles with grim cynicism as he reads through the orders. As a survivor, he knew what happened next. The only orders the Dutch obeyed were a vain request for air support and the instruction to open negotiations with the Serbs, washed down with a bottle of mess champagne.

The Dutch meekly surrendered their weapons, their armoured vehicles, even their uniforms. Not a single "reasonable measure" - save for a few worthless pleas for humanitarian behaviour - came from Kerremans. There was no defence. The Serbs were allowed to hunt through the UN's headquarters at Potocari for Muslims they had not already taken off for the slaughter. There was no medical aid. Hassan's mother and father and younger brother were ordered out of the UN compound by Dutch officers, never to be seen again.

Hassan, who was saved only because he was one of five official UN interpreters, still waits for them, ignoring the evidence of the mass graves and the terrible rumours he now picks up

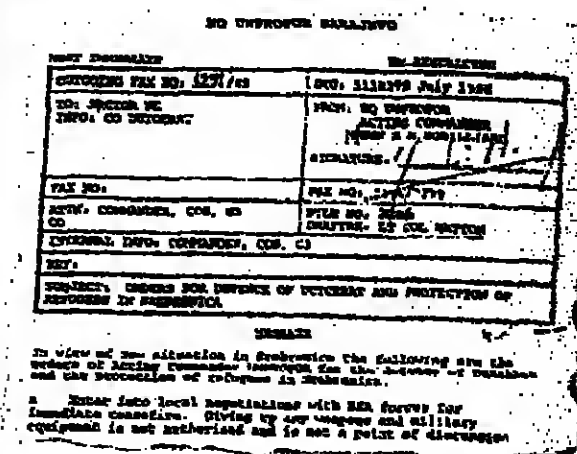
as a UN translator in central Bosnia. His mother Nasiba, he was told, was imprisoned in Vlasinica and later executed. His father was beaten. His brother simply disappeared. But like all the Srebrenica survivors, he is obsessed with the idea that hundreds of Muslims still hide in the remote canyons of Serb-held eastern Bosnia, high above the snow-line in winter, in caves and ravines, feeding off berries and wild animals. "My life's work is to find out what happened to the missing, to keep their names alive - I think of my parents and brother every minute. They are still with me."

The International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC) has published a glossy volume listing the names of 14,561 men, women and children who "disappeared" in the Bosnian war, the largest number of them from Srebrenica; in this mortuary volume, Hassan's family can be found on page 240, their places of birth, father's name and location at time of disappearance noted in a single line. It shows that Hassan's missing brother Muhamed was just 21 when the Dutch ordered him out of their headquarters. Thumb through the ICRC's 342 pages and you realise why you mock the dead if you claim that the war is over. Of the more than 14,000 "missing", 12,371 are Muslims, 1,519 Serbs and 432 Croats. It is not a volume that the Dutch army are likely to display in their official museum.

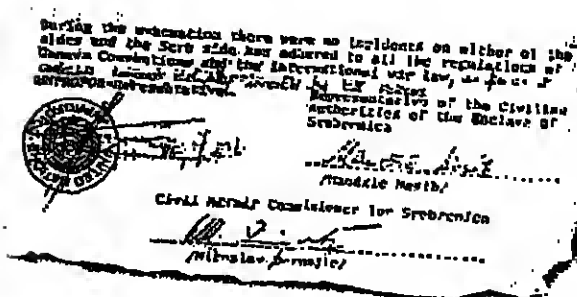
Nor are they likely to treasure the incredible Serb document, apparently signed by a senior Dutch officer, which was drawn up on 17 July - when the massacre of thousands was already under way - and which states baldly that on 12 July, the day of Srebrenica's fall, a meeting of Serb officials, local Muslim representatives and UN officers agreed that the "civilian population" of the captured town could stay if they wished or depart safely to the evacuation area of their choice. The document, also obtained by *The Independent*, ends with the following grotesque sentences: "I assert that the evacuation was carried out by the Serb side correctly... During the evacuation there were no incidents on either of the sides and the Serb side has adhered to all the regulations of the Geneva Conventions..."



Picking up the pieces: An elderly Bosnian woman searches among the rubble for her belongings in a village north of Srebrenica (Photograph: AP) Right: Two extracts from the UN orders which should have saved Muslim lives



Take all reasonable measures to protect civilians and refugees in your care, the Dutch commander was told... soon Serbs were hunting the UN headquarters for Muslims they had not yet taken away for slaughter



*The Independent* has confirmed that the signature is that of a Dutch officer. It can be seen alongside that of Miroslav Deronjic, the new Serb "civil affairs commissioner" for Srebrenica, and a captured Muslim who signs his name as Nesib Mandzic. Although his name does not appear on the file, Hassan's father also represented the Muslims at the 12 July meeting. His presence did not save him. When Major Franken of the Dutch battalion found he was to be expelled from the UN camp at Potocari on the evening

of 13 July, he reversed the order and allowed him to stay - but insisted that Ibro's wife and younger son Muhamed must be handed over to the Serbs. The father elected to stay with Nasiba and Muhamed, and disappeared along with them out of the camp gates, watched by Hassan. "The last thing I told my father," he says, "was to tell my brother I love him."

There was little enough love between the Dutch and the Muslims. Kerremans was variously described as "unpleasant" and aloof by survivors I talked

to in Tuzla. One said that he was a depressive while Hassan claims that Kerremans simply disappeared into his sleeping quarters for two critical days after the fall of Srebrenica.

"I only saw him smile once," Hassan recalls. "Before the fall, the Muslims had invited him to celebrate Ramadan with rakia drinks, and I told one of the UN officers to tell Kerremans I was happy because it was the first time I had seen him smile. I saw Kerremans giving the officer a return message for me. His reply was: 'You are an arsehole.' Kerremans refused to talk to

three British SAS officers mysteriously present in Srebrenica - they would patrol through the town without their UN berets and were supposed to be able to call up air strikes but in the final hours refused to do so - and Kerremans insisted they seek permission each time they wished to leave the UN compound. At one point in the weeks before the city's capture, Dutch troops of the 13th Air Mobile unit's Bravo company could be seen wearing T-shirts depicting a UN soldier half-strangling a Muslim child while refusing to give him a sweet.

"Franken wrote down the names of 239 males in the UN compound who were between 16 and 65 and told the Serbs he would send the list to the ICRC and New York in the hope that this would keep them alive," Hassan says. "The Serbs were angry and Franken stuffed the list in his underclothes. But when I reached Zagreb with UN troops, the list was missing and the Dutch government claimed it didn't exist. Only when a human-rights group forced them to hand it over did we see it again. But of course, in the weeks that had passed, most of

the people on the list had been executed. The Dutch could have saved their lives if they'd published the list the moment their soldiers were released."

It is difficult to contradict Hassan. His family's fate has proved of no interest to a world convinced that flawed elections have ended the Bosnian war. His war - of endless hope and duty for a family probably long dead - goes on.

Tomorrow: In the third of the series, Robert Fisk reports from Banja Luka on the tragedy of a woman forced to identify the body of her son by his clothing.

## Travel as many times as you like from £59 a year.

Take out American Express annual travel insurance and you can make £59 go a long way. Because one payment means you can take an unlimited number of trips throughout the year.

And now you don't have to be an American Express Cardmember to enjoy this extra security.

### Example Travel Insurance Rates

	Individual Under 65	Family 2 adults & 2 children
Single trip cover: Europe up to 12 days	£26.50	£57.00
European annual cover: Up to 31 days per trip	£59	£95
Worldwide annual cover: Up to 31 days per trip	£89	£127

Annual cover includes 17 days winter sports cover, saving you around £25. Rates are available for those aged over 65 years.

To enrol, call the number below between 9am and 5pm Monday to Friday or 9am to 5pm on Saturday quoting reference 967.

**0800 700 737**

Certain exclusions and eligibility limitations apply. Policy Terms and Conditions are available on request.



Insurance Services

## Long and winding road that opens up an isolated enclave

CHRISTOPHER BELLAMY  
Defence Correspondent

Engineers from the Peace Implementation Force in Bosnia are close to completing their work on a track linking Sarajevo with the former Muslim enclave of Gorazde without the need to traverse Serb territory.

But the Bosnian engineers who are also working on the road face acute disappointment, in what has become a highly delicate political issue.

I-For has only committed itself to completing an "access track", but the Bosnian engineers think they are working on an "all-weather, two-lane highway", promised in the Dayton peace agreement.

Although posters trying to get people to vote in the recent elections proclaimed that the boundary line between the Muslim-Croat and Serb entities was a boundary "between forces, not between people", the reality is quite different, and if anything the recent elections

A new link with formerly besieged Gorazde is almost complete

have caused that boundary to crystallise. Without a route avoiding Serb territory, Gorazde will remain effectively isolated. However, there is still no agreement on how the promised "highway" is to be paid for and built.

Given the acutely sensitive nature of the task, I-For has felt obliged to build a route, which has proved an immense task, though still well short of what Dayton promised. Two I-For engineers, one French, one Romanian, have died in accidents. Brigadier John Moore-Bick, the British chief engineer, says the aim of the track is simply to permit access to the route along which the bigger road will eventually run.

Even so, it has proved an immense undertaking, far bigger than route Triangle into central Bosnia, which British engineers turned from a goat

track into a fine gravel road over three years from 1992.

The road leaves Sarajevo and winds up Mount Igman. Improvised signs to Gorazde made by the Bosnian government authorities indicate that in their minds this is the final road. At the top of Mount Igman the first stretches of the new, widened and resurfaced track start. The aim is to allow four-wheel drive vehicles to travel at a steady speed - but in practice it has been necessary to build the road and bridges to a standard capable of carrying the construction traffic, including 20-ton trucks.

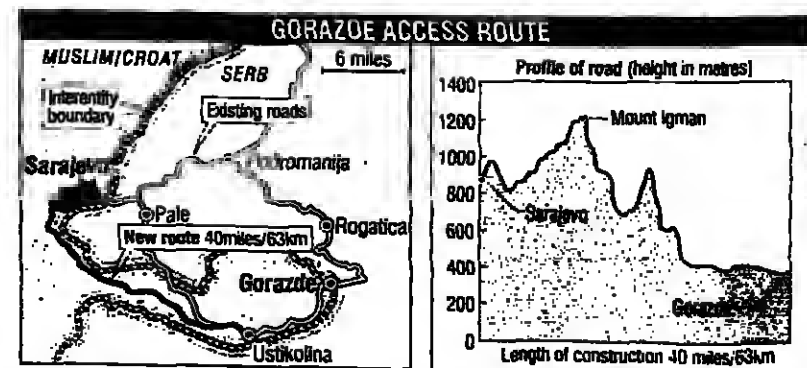
From Mount Igman, the new track descends past destroyed villages into the narrow corridor of Muslim-Croat Federation territory leading to Gorazde. The track then links up with a narrow tarmac road along a deep ravine. The rock has been

blasted away to make passing places every 200 to 300 metres. After Delias, another ruined hamlet, Bosnian engineers are at work, still apparently under the impression that this is the final road. The US government has provided \$2.25m (£1.5m) to fund this part of the road.

The last section of the new road runs from Jabuka to Usikolina, where German engineers are at work. At Donje Bratnje, 15 kilometres before Gorazde, they have had to rebuild bridges destroyed by Nato bombing in last summer's air attacks.

In all, the engineers have now built 250 culverts - to channel mountain streams across the track and avoid washing it away - 15 bridges and shifted 105,000 tons of rock and gravel.

"It was only meant to be a track", said Brigadier Moore-Bick. "But until something else is decided upon it looks very much like the road. This at least is what the Bosnians believe they are building."



A CABLE & WIRELESS COMPANY

**TODAY, BT CUT THEIR PRICES BY UP TO 25%. AND WE'LL STILL BE UP TO 48% CHEAPER.**

Hurrah! Champagne! BT lop 25% off their prices. But with our Globalink package for businesses, we're still 48% cheaper for a 3 minute call to the States during weekday working hours. Hurrah! 1 minute Bellringer! For details FreeCall 0500 800 125.

**MERCURY COMMUNICATIONS**

**It doesn't cost anything to talk FreeCall 0500 800 125**

Prices and savings compared against BT's base rate, 8pm to 5pm, weekdays. Calls are subject to a minimum charge of 42p (initial 10p, then 32p) and are available for a maximum of 14.27p per minute. All prices quoted in UK.



0351 44 77 44

on the  
206

all reasonable  
measures to  
protect civilians  
and refugees in  
our care, the  
command  
s told ... soon  
Serbs were  
the UN  
quarters for  
claims they ha  
not yet taken  
for slaught

If you think that the ideal contraception is  
still light years away, think again.

PERSONA is a completely new method of  
contraception that works with your body.

You see, believe it or not, on most days of  
the month you can't get pregnant and therefore  
don't need contraceptives. What PERSONA does  
is tell you when those  
days are by measuring  
your hormones.

PERSONA couldn't  
be more simple to use.

All you do is open up  
the small hand-held  
monitor each morning.

If there's a green light

showing it means you're free to make love  
without contraceptives. If there's a red light

showing you can either avoid sex,  
or use a barrier method (such as a  
condom). Occasionally a yellow light will show.

This is the way PERSONA tells you that it needs  
to know more about your hormones to build up

a picture of your cycle. To give it that  
information all you have to do is a simple urine  
test which the monitor reads to give you either  
a green or red light. (You'll only have to do  
eight tests each month).

And PERSONA is as reliable as it is easy  
to use. One of the largest ever home trials,

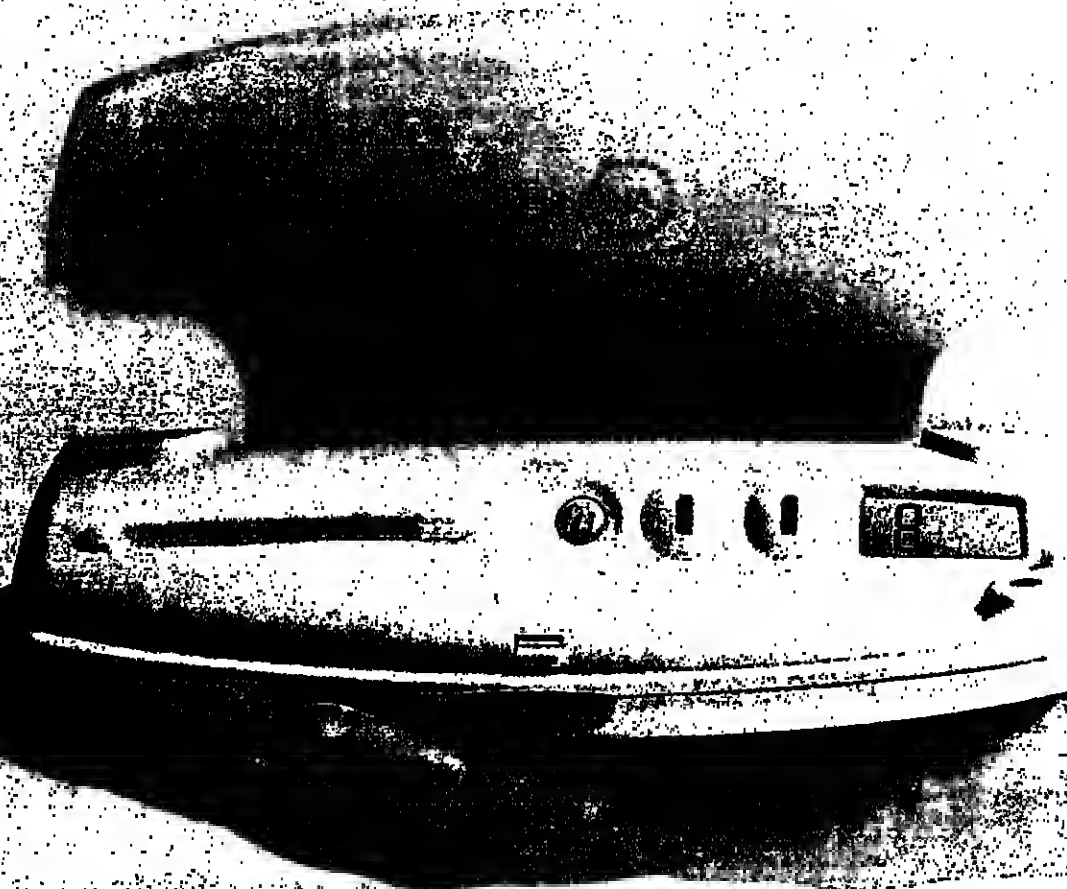
run by leading family  
planning experts, has  
shown PERSONA to  
be 95% reliable, as  
reliable as the condom.

Which means that  
if you choose PERSONA  
as your method of  
contraception your

only sleepless nights will be for the  
right reasons!

For more information visit your local Boots  
store and talk to healthcare staff who are fully  
trained on PERSONA.

Alternatively call 0345 44 77 44 for an  
information booklet or talk to your doctor.



Available at



TODAY, BT CUT  
THEIR PRICES BY  
UP TO 25%  
AND WE'LL STILL  
BE UP TO  
8% CHEAPER

PERSONA

CONTRACEPTION COMES OF AGE.

The reliability figures apply if PERSONA is used according to instructions and as your only method of contraception. If you do use a barrier method on red days, reliability is dependent on your chosen method on that day. PERSONA does not protect against HIV and other STDs.



## obituaries / gazette

## Lord Colnbrook

When she became leader of the Conservative Party in 1975 Margaret Thatcher retained the services of Humphrey Atkins as her Chief Whip. There were two reasons for this. First, he had done an excellent job over the two years he had already been in the post. And second – contrary to the expectations of both the main camps – he had been studiously neutral in the leadership battle.

When, however, in 1979, after the murder of Airey Neave, and her general-election victory of that year, she made Atkins Secretary of State for Northern Ireland – a province with which he had but the most slender of acquaintances – the eyebrows of her entourage climbed towards their hairlines. But the memory of his attitude in 1975 persisted and, even if he were a closet Heathite, the Ulster job would keep him (as it later did Jim Prior) well away from central decision-making on government policy. Later, in 1981, he was moved to the Foreign Office, where his ministerial career came to an end in controversial and turbulent circumstances.

Humphrey Atkins was born in 1922, the son of a Kenyan farmer who had served in the Indian Army. In 1925, after his father's untimely and gruesome death (he was gored by a rhinoceros) he was sent to a boarding school in England, where his mother had him enrolled at Wellington. In 1940 he joined the Royal Navy, serving first in the battleship *Nelson*, mostly on convoy protection duty; he sailed the dangerous Atlantic route, and also the less dangerous, but still threatening, route from home waters to Gibraltar.

He fell in love with a Wren, Margaret Spencer-Nairn. Like

many young couples of that time, when death was never very far away, they decided to snatch as much happiness as they could, though war still raged. In 1944, therefore, Atkins married a highly political wife, and formed an alliance with her prosperous linoleum manufacturing family; the war over, Margaret's father took him into the business, and she set about fully awakening his fairly dormant Tory political instincts.

Initially, Atkins saw himself as a urbane businessman interested in politics, rather than a politician in his own right. It was in that capacity that he worked for J. Henderson Stewart in East Fife during the general election campaign of 1950. But the political bug took hold of him, and he began the usual journey of aspiring Conservative politicians: he sought to prove his mettle by contesting an unwinnable seat in 1951. This was West Lothian, and the young naval lieutenant and linoleum salesman (as he used, in later years, humorously to describe himself) made a dent in the Labour majority: this was important, demonstrating to Conservative Constituency Associations in more electorally desirable parts of the kingdom that he was good on the hustings.

For the 1955 general election he was adopted for Merion and Morden and won the seat. He was to hold until his death, when a change of the political tide forced a shift in 1970 to Spelthorne in Surrey ("a most socially agreeable place," he used to say), which constituency he represented until his departure for the House of Lords in 1987, where he took the title Lord Colnbrook.

Initially, Atkins was diffident in the House of Commons. He took nine months to make his maiden speech, although

Speakers of the House are traditionally indulgent of young members anxious to blood themselves. Once he began, however, he began to make a name for himself – particularly by his support for the retention of capital punishment. He enjoyed (if that is the right word) a period as a Parliamentary Private Secretary – the lowest form of ministerial life – but in 1967 he then Chief Whip, William Whitelaw, invited him to join the Whips' office, where he shone.

Whips are generally – and rightly – supposed to be a combination of the bully and the charmer. Some few are wholly one, or wholly the other. Edward Heath, a highly successful Chief Whip, was wholly a bully. Atkins's boss, Whitelaw, who was also highly successful, oscillated, often alarmingly, between bluff charm and bad temper. Atkins was all charm and reason, and the backbenchers whom he so often had to cajole into supporting the official party line, both liked and respected him, for they sensed the core of determination that lay beneath his agreeable suavity.

He was made Deputy Chief Whip upon the Conservative return to power in 1970, under Francis Pym, and took the top job in 1973. But his greatest moment was as Deputy Chief Whip in 1977 when, for Heath's last year, he predicted the Conservative vote on the question of British entry into the European Economic Community to within only one. "And the one I got wrong," he said later, "was an awkward bugger anyway." Since the question of entry into the EEC was to be decided, on the Conservative side, on a free vote – something whips, naturally, hate – Atkins's judgement was remarkably sound.

From thereon in, however, his career was a far less happy one. As Chief Whip between 1975 and 1979 he had to strive hard to reconcile the differences between warring factions in his party. There were, on the one hand, those enthused by Margaret Thatcher, and the storm of fresh air she brought to politics; and there were, on the other, those embittered, not only by



Colnbrook: a nearly man

Photograph: Hulton Getty

her overthrowing of Edward Heath, but by the reversal of the policies on which the Tories had fought, unsuccessfully, both the 1974 general elections. In 1979 he thought of his accession to the Northern Ireland Office as something of a relief.

It was not to prove so. His two-year period in Ulster saw the murder of Lord Mountbatten, and the notorious IRA hunger strikes in the Maze prison. The former event had,

at least, the desirable effect of making the Dublin government of the day more amenable to co-operation in matters of security. The latter provoked probably the most bitter of confrontations between the Westminster government and Irish nationalism that had yet been seen. Initially, Atkins's whip's instinct suggested to him that a compromise should be sought; but once the Prime Minister made it ineluctably clear that she would in no circumstances grant political privileges to those in prison for civil offences, he rallied, and showed a will as strong as her own. Eleven deaths later, the hunger strike was called off.

Atkins's time in Belfast revealed some of his deficiencies. The social graces that endeared him to almost all quarters in Westminster found no purchase in Northern Irish political society. "We could rub along all right with Willie Whitelaw," William Craig, one of the hardest of Ulster Unionists, once said to me, "because he's a genuine squire. But this fellow's only a pretend squire."

It was true that Atkins's generous, but slightly flamboyant hospitality, and his somewhat overpowering sense of good manners, cut little ice in the rough and tumble of Ulster politics. It was with relief that, in 1981, he moved to what he thought would be the tranquil pastures of the Foreign Office, where he was to be Deputy to the Foreign Secretary, Lord Carrington, and the office's spokesman in the House of Commons. But disaster waited in the wings.

Throughout 1981 Argentinian pressure on the Falkland Islands mounted. The Foreign Office – particularly in the per-

son of the junior minister, Richard Luce, but with Atkins supervising – put their faith in negotiation; they simply could not believe that Argentina would mount a *coup de main* against the islands. Pressure was put on newspaper proprietors and editors to play down reports of an imminent military onslaught on Port Stanley. The newspapers (and particularly Tony Allen-Mills of the *Daily Telegraph*) resisted, and, when the invasion duly took place, a storm broke over the Foreign Office Ministers.

Atkins was particularly unfortunate (due to late briefings) because he made a statement to the House denying that an attack was imminent, hours after the Argentine troops had taken Port Stanley. He, Carrington, and Luce all resigned. Disputation has continued to this day as to whether the Prime Minister or the Foreign Office were culpable in failure to detect Argentinian intentions. I believe that the Prime Minister was unwise to have taken her eye off the Argentinian ball, because of her preoccupation with European affairs; but there is no doubt in my mind that the Foreign Office was guilty of gross carelessness in its conduct of affairs up to the crisis.

Though he was never to hold ministerial office again, Atkins continued to be active in politics. He had never lost his interest in defence matters, and he became a first-class chairman of the Select Committee on Defence. There was a move to make him Speaker of the House of Commons, in spite of the shadow of the Falklands debacle.

While some demurred at the thought of a failed minister in the chair, others pointed out

that Selwyn Lloyd, who had lied to the House over the Suez Canal adventure in 1956, had gone on to become an excellent Speaker. However, it was not to be, and Atkins had to content himself with his Defence Committee, and later with the Presidency of the National Union of Conservative and Unionist Associations, the principal job on the voluntary wing of the party.

Atkins was a nearly man. His gifts, as an orator and as a political tactician, were considerable. But misfortune and misjudgement dogged him at every turn, just when he was nearing the top of affairs. He was, however, a staunch patriot, and a loyal party man, as well as being a good friend to many people. That is not an unworthy accolade.

Patrick Cosgrave

**Humphrey Edward Gregory Atkins, politician:** born Kenya 12 August 1922; MP (Conservative) for Merion and Morden, Surrey 1955-70; Spelthorne 1970-87; PPS to Civil Lord of the Admiralty 1959-62; Hon Secretary, Conservative Parliamentary Defence Committee 1965-67; Opposition Whip 1967-70; Treasurer of HM Household and Deputy Chief Whip 1970-73; PC 1973; Parliamentary Secretary to the Treasury and Government Chief Whip 1973-74; Opposition Chief Whip 1974-79; Secretary of State for Northern Ireland 1979-81; Lord Privy Seal and principal Foreign and Commonwealth Office spokesman in the Commons 1981-82; KCMG 1983; Chairman, Select Committee on Defence 1984-87; created 1987 Baron Colnbrook; married 1944 Margaret Spencer-Nairn (one son, three daughters); died 4 October 1996.

## Frances Lang

The picture desk of the *Independent* has always taken on young photographers, often from the Newport School of Art and Design. However, when Frances Lang came up from Wales in 1993, she was not, by instinct, a newspaper photographer. She could not, as her fellow students did, highlight around town "doing" a politician at 11am, a fire at 3pm, an actor in a hotel room at 5pm.

In fact, it took a friend to goad her through the door of the old City Road offices, and the same friend to ring me to say she was in reception. There I found a tall, slender woman wearing ragged men's clothes. She looked so young, so tomboyish, I was taken back to learn she was 31. That first meeting, she clutched a box of colour Xerox copies of portraits she had taken of women chefs. The rich half-tones of these were almost painterly, but what set them apart was the intimacy of the work, the ease of her subjects. Lang had worked with many of these chefs while waitingressing to pay for her photography course. Only an insider could have come away with such images. She caught one bent over an order form, smoking as she worked. The cigarette had a perilously long ash.

Frances Lang's voice cracked with nervousness as she suggested we might run the portraits accompanied by recipes from each of the chefs. This is exactly what the *Review* section of the *Independent* on Sunday did. The series was given a five-page spread, an unprece-



Lang: quirky and original

dent first showing for a student. The reaction was overwhelming. It was serialised in Germany; *Vogue* *Entertaining* in Australia took a follow-on series; Sheila Lukins, author of *The New Basics Cookbook*, the best-selling cookery book in America, took armloads of copies back to New York. Most touchingly, one of the chefs, Margot Clayton, was sent a love letter card of the newspaper. It was scrawled by a dreamy college boy, who declared her picture would be "on my wall forever". The problem with having made a spectacular debut was what to do for an encore. Dispatched by the *Review* to take a portrait of Sue MacGregor for "How We Met", Lang forgot a key to her lights and blew the job. This, I later learnt, was part of a pattern of triumphs and setbacks, a rhythm of her searching approach to life.

She was born in New Zealand, the youngest of five children of Octavia and Henry

Lang. From 1968 to 1976, when Frances was six to 14, her father was Secretary of the Treasury, a man of great dignity whom she idolised, and whom she desperately hoped to impress. Yet it is a tall order for an aspiring artist to impress the Langs. Her grandfather was the Austrian architect Ernst Pliskie, and Lucie Rie was a family friend. Frances became rebellious. She cut up at school, then, during her twenties, became a heroin addict. The same restless energy made her the first of her group to break free of drugs. Once living in Britain, she was clean, but subject to depression and plagued by a persistent unease, a sense of something she had to do. This something became photography and her concentration on her course in Wales and in her work seemed less a case of ambition than a personal journey.

Following the photo-essay about women chefs in the *Sunday Review*, Frances and I worked regularly together for the *Independent*. We even did a job for *Country Life*, though we weren't asked for it. But requesting Frances Lang for a job used to make even *Independent* picture editors edgy. For starters, they couldn't find her during the three years we worked together, she lived hand to mouth, moving from rented digs in Gwent, Bayswater, Notting Hill, Tottenham, South Kensington and Primrose Hill.

Yet, when she surfaced, it was almost invariably with new, highly personal work that was quirky, elegant and original.

There were series on stately Victorian water-fountains at all too modern intersections; a weird treasure trove of 100-year-old exotic fish preserved in formaldehyde in the Natural History Museum; London tube maps, the place names worn out by the fingertips of tourists.

The last year brought an extraordinary flowering. She became engaged to a lifelong friend, Mark Brand, with whom she shared an innate elegance and a slim elfin beauty. For the first time anyone could remember, she began dressing up. She and Mark took great care refurbishing the flat where they would begin their life together. Finally, Lang had a study, with a darkroom attached. On 7 September, they married in Westminster Abbey surrounded by friends and family. Frances Lang was, perhaps for the first time, radiantly happy.

While on their honeymoon, on 1 October, they took Aero-Peru Flight 603. Shortly after take-off, it plunged into the Pacific, killing all 70 passengers. Since her death I have heard friends describe her as stubborn. I suppose she was in her refusal to change the way she worked for newspapers, she had newspapers change for her. It is this sort of singular will that gave the two *Independent* titles their reputations for photography.

Emily Green

**Frances Sonia Lang, photographer:** born Wellington, New Zealand 7 May 1962; married 1996 Mark Brand (died 1996); died near Lima, Peru 1 October 1996.

If Britain can claim a supremacy in any art form it is in theatre. Far less accepted until after the Second World War was that the theatre history was a field for serious academic study, save in its field of history. Sybil Rosenfeld was the senior survivor of those who, through scholarship and promotion, led the reversal of this situation. That drama departments now exist unquestioned in many British universities; that British-related theatre research flourishes on an international scale and that we now have a national Theatre Museum all derive from activities in which she was a prime mover.

Such a role was not in her stars. She was born in London, in Bayswater, in 1903, the only child of liberal Jewish parents. Her father being one of a family with prosperous ceramics and glass-making interests in Stoke-on-Trent and Czechoslovakia. With cultured parents, her early theatre and opera-going gave her very wide tastes (a lifelong antipathy to *Parsifal* being a rare dislike). She went to King's College London, where, aged 19, she took the year's top first class honours degree in English. Originally drawn towards languages, she met there the young Allardyce Nicoll, a pioneer of English theatre studies, who redirected her interests and she went on to gain an MA, with distinction, for work on the Restoration playwright George Etherege. Her related edition of his *Letterbook* was published in 1928. Following in 1939 by a ground-breaking study, *Shooting Players and Drama in the*

*Provinces, 1660-1765*. This won the Rose Mary Crawshay prize of the British Academy.

Apart from brief work for the League of Nations, Sybil Rosenfeld had the means for a comfortable but never ostentatious independence and, with the Depression, followed her father's wish that she not take paid work when others needed it more. She always travelled widely and just before the Second World War (when she ran a club for Jewish girls in Paddington) moved into the Bayswater flat where she lived for the rest of her life and which, from 1945, became a centre of change in the status of theatre history.

In that year the bookseller Jean Kyrle Fletcher launched the *Journal of Theatre Research*, with Rosenfeld and Richard Southern as joint editors, a role she continued until 1986, when she joined its advisory board. She also contributed some 80 articles, notes and reviews to it, and to many other scholarly publications. In 1948, TV's success led to the foundation of the Society for Theatre Research (STR), of which Rosenfeld was also joint honorary secretary until 1970, later vice-chairman, vice-president and a constant committee attendee to her death.

Until the 1960s all such meetings were held at her flat, where the STR in 1955 initiated the Theatre Museum Association; the work of both bodies as pressure groups was seminal in the eventual creation of the present Theatre Museum. Sybil

Rosenfeld was actively involved in the TMA, and in the foundation, in 1955-57, of the STR's other offshoot, the International Federation for Theatre Research, for which she sat on the Executive Committee and the editorial board of its *Journal Theatre Research*.

Her *Foreign Theatre Companies in Great Britain* appeared as an STR pamphlet in 1955, followed by another ground-breaking book, *Theatre of the London Fairs in the 18th Century* (1960). At this time, with Edward Croft-Murray of the British Museum, she began concentrating on another of her interests, the neglected history of British scene design. They jointly published a detailed *Checklist of 18th-century British scene-painters* (TN, 1964-66). Rosenfeld going on to write two more pioneering books: *A Short History of Scene Design in Great Britain* (1972) is a sweeping survey showing all her gifts of



Rosenfeld: theatre history Photograph: Jenny Bissett

economy and clarity as a writer, with *Georgian Scene Painters and Scene Painting* (1982) a detailed study of the 1700-1830 period.

Her *Temples of Thespis* (1978) provides an entertainingly scholarly account of aristocratic Georgian amateur theatricals, and in 1984 she rounded off work begun in the 1930s with a full history of the restored Georgian Theatre at Richmond, Yorkshire, where she also gave a celebratory address in 1993. She was then 90, her birthday having been marked by a reception at the Garrick Club. In 1992 she was made an Honorary Fellow of King's College London.

To the end she was active, alert, encouraging, and contributing to plans for the 50th anniversary of the society she helped found. Some of her last work was on scenic entries for the *New Grove Dictionary of Opera* and, as much devoted to art, architecture and music as theatre, the day before she died saw her casting a vote at the "Living Bridges" show at the Royal Academy, with seats booked for Wednesday's *Uncle Vanya* at the Albany. In the early hours of that morning, and as she always liked things "with-out fuss" – this most eminent and unassuming chronicler of British theatre history herself slipped quietly from the stage.

Pieter van der Merwe

**Sybil Marion Rosenfeld, theatre historian:** born London 20 January 1903; died London 2 October 1996.

## Births, Marriages &amp; Deaths

## BIRTHS

**HARRIS:** On 5 October, at home in Kilmory, Berkshire, the Gill (née Harris) and Robert, a daughter, Matilda Felicity, a sister for Holly and Charlie.

## DEATHS

**OWEN:** Denis, died 3 October 1996 after a short illness, with his family around him. Cremation at Oxford Crematorium, Bayswater Road, Oxford, on 10 October 1996 at 12 noon. Family flowers only. Donations in lieu of flowers to Denis Owen Memorial Fund, c/o Lincolns Society of London, Burlington House, Piccadilly W1V 0LQ.

**ROBSON:** The Rev Bernard John, on 3 October 1996, husband of Anne, late of John and Philip. Funeral service at All Saints' Church, Milton, Cambridgeshire, on Friday 11 October at 11.00am. Private cremation thereafter. Family flowers only please but donations if desired to the Church Pastoral Aid Society c/o Harry Williams & Sons, Cambridge, 01223 359480.

Announcements for Gazette BIRTHS, MARRIAGES & DEATHS may be telephoned to 0171-293 2011 (24-hour answering machine 0171-293 2012) or faxed to 0171-293 2016 and are charged at £6.50 a line (VAT extra).

**ROYAL ENGAGEMENTS**  
Princess Alexandra attends the opening of the restored Llangynidr Church and new Llangynidr Llangynidr at the Royal Botanic Gardens, New, Richmond, Surrey.

**Changing of the Guard**  
The Household Cavalry Mounted Regiment will march the Queen's Life Guard at Horse Guards, 1am.

## Forthcoming marriages

**Mr P Williams and Miss K. M. Dienes**  
The engagement is announced between Katherine Frances Maria, daughter of Mr and Mrs J. Dienes, and Patrick Williams.

## Birthdays

The Marquess of Anglesey, former Lord-Lieutenant of Gwynedd, 74; Miss Betty Bootbroyd MP, Speaker of the House of Commons, 67; Professor Sir John Cadogan, chemist, 66; Viscount Caldecote, former chairman, Delta Group, 79; Mr David Cardinale, actor, 60; Professor Garth Chapman, zoologist, 79; Sir Nicholas Checham, former ambassador, 86; Sir Emrys Davies, former High Commissioner to Barbados, 62; Professor Hugh de Warden, physician and nephrologist, 81; Sir Edward Eveleigh, former Lord Justice of Appeal, 79; Mr Edgar Fay, QC, former circuit judge, 88; Sir Michael Fox, a former Lord Justice of Appeal, 75; Mr Braodoo Gough, former chairman, Coopers & Lybrand, 59; Mr Milner Gray, artist and designer, 91; Mr John Hardman, former chairman, Asda, 57; Professor Sir Richard Harrison, anatomist, 70; Mr Neil Harvey, cricketer, 68; Mr Bill Maynard, television actor, 68; Mr Alasdair Milne, former Director-General, BBC, 60; Dr Cesar Milstein, biologist and biochemist, 69; Miss Bel Mooney, writer and broadcaster, 50; Sir Mark Oliphant, physicist and former Governor of South Australia, 95; Dame Marie Park, Principal, Royal Ballet, and Director, Royal Ballet School, 59; The Very Rev John Paterson, former Moderator of the Church of Scotland, 74; The Hon Sir Peter Ramsbotham, former ambassador to Washington,

77; Mr Ray Reardon, snooker champion, 64; Mr Albert Roux, chef de cuisine, 61; Sir Robert Saxton, composer, 45; Sir Robert Scholey, former chairman of British Steel, 78; Mr Dennis Silk, Chairman, Test and County Cricket Board, 65; Mr Nigel Spearing MP, 66; Mr Godfrey Talbot, author, broadcaster and former BBC Court correspondent, 88; Sir Ray Tindle, chairman, Tindle Newspapers, 70; Mr Peter Wood, theatre and television director, 68.

## Anniversaries

**Births:** John Capper Powys, novelist, 1872; Sir Alfred John Munnings, artist, 1878; Juan Perón, president of Argentina, 1895; Robert Mammoulin, film director, 1898; Deaths: Henry Fielding, novelist, 1754; Pierre Fournier, typographer and engraver, 1768; Count Vittorio Alfieri, poet, 1803; Kathleen Mary Furner, countess, 1953; Clement Richard Attlee, first Earl Attlee, statesman, 1967; Willy Brandt (Herbert Ernst Karl Frahm), former West German Chancellor, 1992. On this day: the final consecration of St Mark's, Venice, took place, 1085; King's College London, was opened, 1831; 300,000 people died in China during a great typhoon, 1881; the Battle of Loos ended, 1915; Britain's tallest building, the Post Office Tower, opened, 1965; Britain's first legal commercial radio station, LBC (London Broadcasting Company), started transmitting, 1973. Today is the Feast Day of St Demetrius, St Simon Stylites, St Keyne, St Marcellus, St Pelagia (or Margaret) the Penitent, St Reparata of Caesarea, and St Thais.

## Lectures

Victoria and Albert Museum: Olivia Calia (talk in Italian), "Oggetti Chinesi per l'Europa", 2.30pm.

National Gallery: Kathleen Adler, "Peter Blake (II), Hovory for Hollywood: British Pop Art and America", 1pm.

National Portrait Gallery: Liz Reddel, "The Painted Self-portrait", 1.10pm.

British Museum: Louise Schofield, "Legend and Archaeology: Agamemnon's gold of Mycenae", 1.15pm.

University College London: Professor Kathleen Burk, "We are Down on Our Knees to the Americans: Anglo-American relations in the 20th century", 3.30pm.

**Air Commodore Sir Frank Whittle**

A Service of Thanksgiving for the life of Air Commodore Sir Frank Whittle will be held in Westminster Abbey, London SW1, on Friday 15 November 1996 at noon. Applications for tickets, accompanied by a stamped addressed envelope, should reach the Ministry of Defence, Pld (Cer) (RAF), Room 344, Adelphi House, Theobalds Road, London WC1X 9RU, by not later than Monday 21 October 1996. Applicants should state their connection with Air Commodore Sir Frank Whittle, or the organisation they represent, if applicable. Tickets will be issued 7-10 days before the service. All are welcome. Applications should not be made to Westminster Abbey.

## Luncheons

Women of the Year  
Mme Vigdis Finnbogadóttir, former President of Iceland, was guest of honour at the Women of the Year lunch, held yesterday at the Savoy Hotel, London WC2. The lunch was held in aid of the Greater London Fund for the Blind.

## Guidelines on prisoner release were wrong

## LAW REPORT

8 October 1996

*Regina v Secretary of State for the Home Department, ex parte Naughton; Queen's Bench Divisional Court (Lord Justice Simon Brown and Mr Justice Popplewell) 4 September 1996*

In determining by how much to reduce the time to be served by a person sentenced to consecutive terms of imprisonment, to take account of any period spent in custody before his conviction, the prison service should treat the consecutive terms as a single term in accordance with section 104(2) of the Criminal Justice Act 1967 and should therefore make a single deduction in respect of the pre-trial custody period rather than deducting that period from each consecutive term.

The Queen's Bench Divisional Court dismissed an application by John Thomas Naughton, a prisoner at HMP Lindholme in Dorset, for judicial review of the Home Secretary's decision on 23 August 1996 to cancel "Instructions to Governors" IG50/1996 issued by a working party of the Home Office to prison governors under the signature of the Director General of the Prison service on 15 August 1996.

*Peter Weatherby (John Howell & Co, Sheffield) for the applicant; David Farnick QC and Pushpinder Sahni*

Lord Justice Simon Brown said the applicant contended that, under the guidelines in question, he should have been released in December 1995. He was first arrested in September 1994 for possession of cannabis and spent 81 days in custody in connection with those proceedings before being released on bail. He was later arrested for burglary and spent a further 239 days in custody, in connection with both offences, before being convicted and sentenced at Sheffield Crown Court in November 1995 to 18 months' imprisonment for each offence, the terms to run consecutively.

No one disputed that, in the computation of his overall sentence and release date, he was entitled to credit of 81 days plus 239 days. But he contended that he should get a further credit of 239 days against the second consecutive term of 18 months, representing the period when he was on remand in respect of both offences.

Section 67(1) and (1A) of the 1967 Act (as amended by section 49 of the Police and Crim-

inal Evidence Act 1984) provided that: "The length of any sentence of imprisonment imposed on an offender by a court shall be treated as reduced by" any "relevant period" spent in police detention or while remanded in custody in connection with that offence. But section 104(2) provided that:

For the purposes of any reference in this Act . . . to the term of imprisonment or other detention to which a person has been sentenced or which, or part of which, he has served, consecutive terms and terms which are wholly or partly concurrent, shall . . . be treated as a single term.

The applicant relied on a line of cases concerned with concurrent sentences, namely *R v Governor of Brixton Prison, ex p Gaffney* [1982] 1 WLR 696, *R v Home Secretary, ex p Read* (1987) 9 Cr App R (S) 206, *R v Governor of Spaul Prison, ex p Mooney* [1996] 1 Cr App R (S) 74 and *R v Home Secretary, ex p Woodward* (unreported, 24 June 1996), in which the Divisional Court adopted a construction which, by concentrating on the words "sentence of imprisonment" in section 67(1), required concurrent sentences to be con-

sidered separately when making deductions for periods of pre-trial custody in respect of the offences for which those sentences were passed.

It was said that the same approach should be adopted for consecutive sentences. Therefore, each consecutive sentence fell to be reduced by any "relevant period" spent remanded in custody even though the remand related to more than one offence.

This was a result of section 67 which Parliament could not possibly have intended. It would produce a complete nonsense. The language of the section certainly did not lead to that result. If consistency with the approach adopted in the *Gaffney* line of cases required consecutive sentences to be dealt with as the applicant submitted, then his Lordship would unhesitatingly conclude that the *Gaffney* approach was wrong.

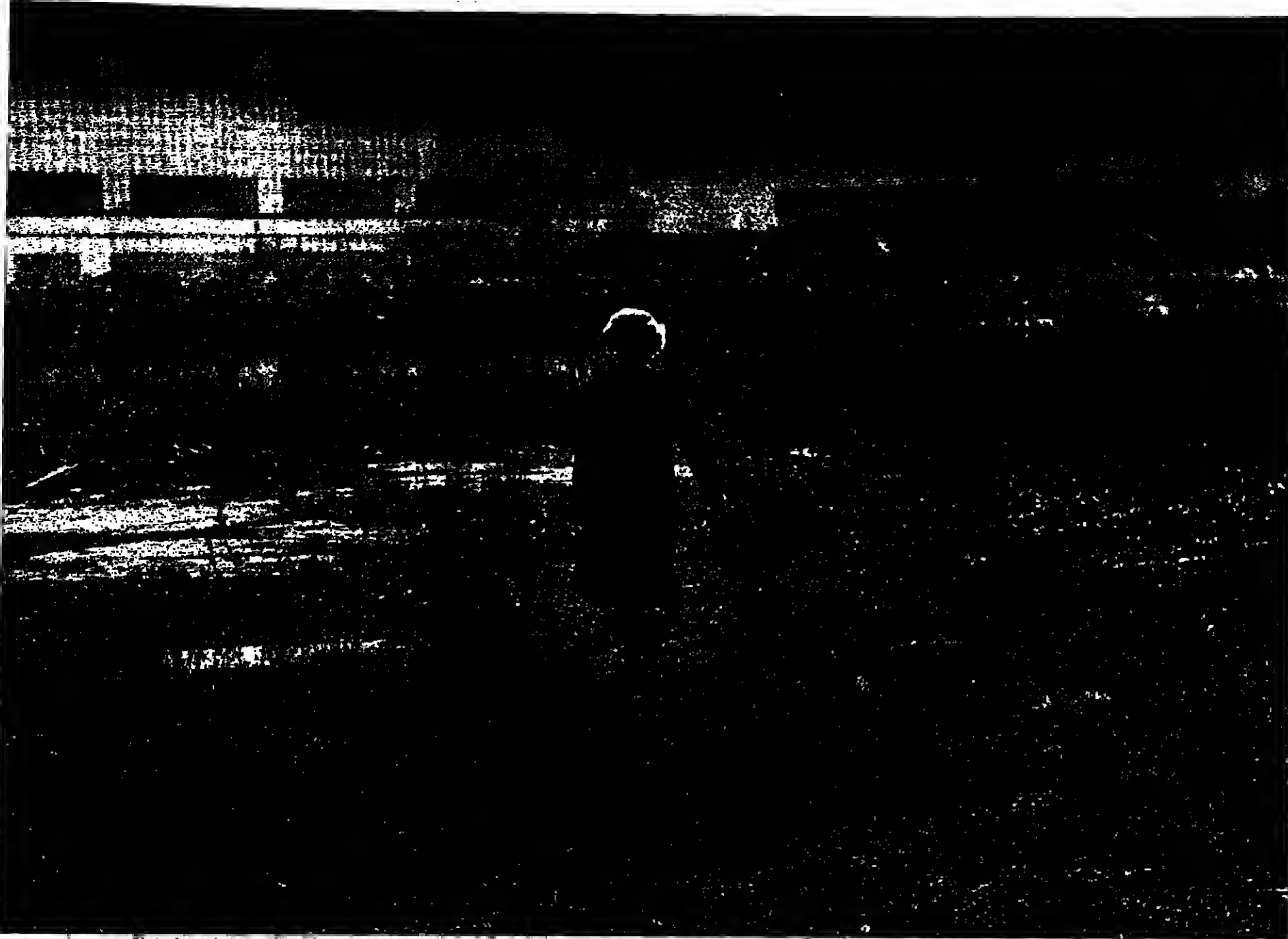
But his Lordship preferred to adopt the respondent's contention that regard should be had to section 104(2) in this context, so that one looked at the total sentence rather than its individual elements when computing the appropriate reduction for time spent in custody on remand.

Paul Magrath, Barrister





# THE Independent Decade



Not for turning: She may have been loved and loathed in equal measure, but Margaret Thatcher still casts a long shadow over our democracy

Photograph: John Voos

## A drama with genuine consequences for us all

Ten years ago our politics seemed quite like today's. It wasn't at all. These have been important years for British democracy. But they have also been dominated by one party with one set of characters having one great argument over one great issue, Europe. This means that although we have been living through history, it has been easy to misread it as soap opera.

Thus, in 1986, on the day the first issue of *The Independent* went on sale, Westminster life was dominated by a squabbling Conservative Party; the country was cynically waiting for a give-away election budget; Labour was being shaken and mod-ernised; and in the centre-ground, the Alliance had not given up on their dream of breaking the mould of politics.

The biggest difference, of course, was Margaret Thatcher, who gave politics a central-ity, verve and sense of danger that has been lacking since she was despatched by her colleagues. Even so, the echoes in policy between her and John

Major are striking. He parades a Euro-scepticism very similar to hers. Privatisation, welfare reform, hostility to "trendy" teaching, aggressive populism on law and order — these are among the classically "Thatcherite" aims intact under Major. True, he has had sleaze and disloyalty to contend with. But so did she: the Thatcher administration which barely survived the Westland affair was no stranger to either.

On the other side of the divide, Neil Kinnock was taking on a Marxist-influenced Labour left that has now disappeared from a serious place in British politics. Yet the similarities are, again, quite striking: without Kinnock's modernisers there would have been no New Labour. Paddy Ashdown retains the best radical instincts of the would-be mould-breakers.

So the surface of politics has stayed more or less intact, similar-seeming stories about a limited cast of characters getting up to a limited range of activities, who resign, and split and



If a week is a long time in politics, then it is little wonder that the past 10 years have been more than just soap opera, writes Andrew Marr

fornicate. There are the periodic "knife-edge" votes, which never quite result in the butter falling finally onto the floor. On it goes; on goes the rest of the world, strangely unaffected.

Sometimes, this Ambridge-on-Thames world, intersects with real life, during health scares, or in the shocked aftermath of shootings, or during real foreign crises, such as the Gulf war or Bosnia. But Westminster has become, for many, a sub-merged narrative at the edge of the eye's vision — a busy, entertaining place full of "news" — but where nothing really happens.

It is a common view. But it is also a shallow, lazy and desperately misguided assessment

which, we hope, readers of *The Independent* wouldn't have swallowed. For below the glittering surface where bubble-reputation glides, there have been dark, strong currents.

Back in 1986, for instance, Mrs Thatcher's anti-Brexit instincts made her seem out of step. Today, her view has triumphed: the same party has stayed in power. But on European policy we have had, in effect, a change of government. And there has been a substantial transfer of authority in European institutions, coming at a time when the collapse of Communism removed the over-riding need for Western democ-racies to stick together.

At home, under the seeming permafrost of one-party rule, there has been a shift towards quasi-nationalist and pro-Horne Kaine opinion in Scotland. The IRA ceasefire and peace process there have come unstuck; but even in Northern Ireland, the new thinking will not be forgotten, or lack consequences for the decade ahead.

Local government has been virtually destroyed as a theatre of free politics. The quango state has grown alarmingly. Judges have acquired new powers and a new self-confidence. And at Westminster, a series of celebrated confrontations, from the Westland affair to the events leading up to the Scott Report, and Hamilton, have exposed the failure of Parliament to stand up stoutly in defence of its rights against the executive.

None of this is soap opera. It is genuine political drama, with real consequences for Britain. We have experienced a further weakening of that democracy with which *The Independent* was already concerned in its

early editions. It affects a lot beyond Westminster.

For instance, if we are at the limits of what we are prepared to pay for welfare — if — there are some very hard and unpleasant questions to be asked. Developments in genetics and technology pose a generation's worth of ethical questions. The Greens may have splintered, as a party, into a mulch of political irrelevance; but environmental politics isn't going away.

So though at times Westminster in the dying years of the century may seem like a thin farce, peopled by shallow and implausible figures, it is still a place where history is made. It is impossible to tell whether reform will come, or how, and how dramatic it will be. Will Labour win? Will Tony Blair deliver? Will we join a full single currency and if so, what will the discontents do? Only one thing seems clear: what is to come in the next decade is likely to be as important as what has happened during *The Independent's* short lifetime so far.

## House on the crest of a permanent wave

Was it, in retrospect, a moment of revolutionary significance when, in 1989, the TV cameras were allowed to film the proceedings of Parliament? Has it unravelled mysteries before the eyes of an eager public? Given impetus to the movement for accountability and reform? Or — as Michael Portillo famously claimed a couple of years ago — has it helped to bring into contempt a venerable and valuable institution?

Most of us are only aware of the televising of parliament from the tiny clips used to illustrate news bulletins. The demands of balance within reports further constrains what can be shown, so that a moment of Major, a bite of Blair and an instant of Ashdown have all to appear, rather than a longer *spiel* from any of them.

An impression of continual hubbub and posturing may be thus created (but was not that our perception

before televising?) and the occasional shot of a half-empty chamber may have helped fuel the idea of lazy, venal politicians (though Ian Greer has done more in a week to achieve this, than TV has in seven years). True, valiant attempts have been made by the Beeb and Channel 4 to attract viewers to graveyard slots in the early morning, or late at night, when longer out-takes from the proceedings are transmitted. But audiences for these programmes are minuscule. It must follow then that if the cameras have made an impact on British politics, it is the politicians who have been affected, not the voters.

I can remember the times when you could distinguish a politician in mixed company by his or her dress alone. The male MP would be attired in an ancient, shiny dark suit, or a gardening tweed, with the trouser waistband turned over under the heavy stomach.



DAVID AARONOVITCH

His shirt would be flecked with tiny traces of L'Amico's *Amatriciana*, his tie spotted with fag ash. The nearest any bloke got to sartorial sharpness was David Steel and his striped shirt/white collar abominations. To be called a dandy in the Commons it was sufficient to wear a red bow tie, and offer snuff.

The few ladies were equally distinctive. Some wore what appeared to be army surplus pants in garish hues. For most, however, the cut of their clothing (and the quality of the cloth)

was better judged, but the hairdos, the colours and the accessories were disastrous. Motley was certainly worn.

All changed, changed utterly. They saw themselves on the shows that no one else watched: froze the frames when tiny fragments of their dowdy selves peeped over the PM's shoulder, or from between Paddy's legs; examined the image-makers, telling MPs what to wear and where to stand in order to look best on camera (what advice did they give to Jacques "Buzzsaw" Arnold? Lie down? Turn round?).

Whole wardrobes were carted off to Oxford, and ended up clothing the homeless of Westminster. Middle of the range clothes shops were invaded by anxious members, clutching colour charts and muttering that their florid complexions apparently went badly

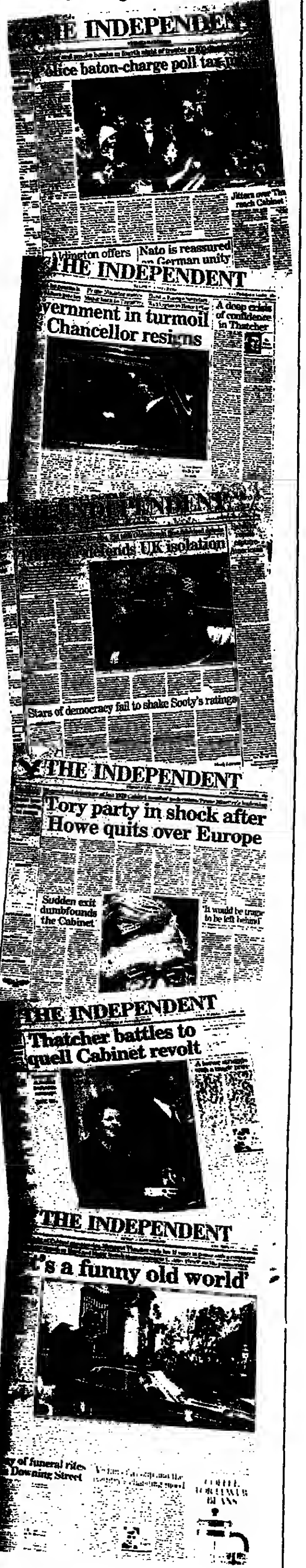
with everything but grey. Toni and Guy suddenly found themselves dealing with a succession of tonsorial disasters.

There was a period of "dough-nutting" — collecting together around a speaker so as to give the impression of a crowded house — which began to collapse when directors were allowed to film "wide-shots", not just the area on either side of whoever was on his or her feet. But that was it, really.

It may be, of course, that the real impact of televising Parliament is yet to come.

If a Labour/Lib-Dem coalescence produces real reforms in procedure, enhancing accountability; if a new government brings in a Freedom of Information Act; if there is (to quote Shirley Williams) a "great reforming administration" — then, perhaps, the Commons on TV will be of interest to more than hairdressers.

### Days of our lives





# Iron grip corroded by fatal arrogance

The ending of Margaret Thatcher's leadership of her country and party was as violent as her eleven-year rule. Having lived by the sword, she died by it. When the blade was finally driven home, the drama was as brutal and as bloody as Shakespeare's Julius Caesar.

The only surprise was that it had taken such a broad swathe of her party so long to muster up the courage to move against a leader who had for so long treated so many of them with such patent contempt.

But calculation, and not courage, is the forte of the Conservative Party. The calculation was that she was leading her MPs to certain election defeat, and once that realisation had dawned, she was done for. The motive was self-preservation; the same calculation by which she herself challenged and vanquished Edward Heath in 1975.

By the time of her election victory in 1979, the project was ready to go. The plans had been laid, and while no one really imagined the scale of trade union reform and privatisation, or the unemployment consequences of monetarism, the eggs were ready for hatching.

It had not begun like that; it had all been quite modest really. There was a time when Margaret Thatcher was not a Thatcherite; there was a time when her modest diffidence was used to disarm; there was a time when she actually listened to others.

But ideology, aggression and arrogance grew on her and with each success her image and ego became more and more inflated. She began to believe that Thatcherism was a new creed for a new era, that her election in 1979 marked a Year Zero before which the Conservatives had been as socialist as Labour, and that if she could conquer the miners, she could go on to conquer Brussels, too.

One very senior Conservative who had helped to make her bid after her demise that she began to approach everything and everyone in the same combative spirit. She spurned the advice of friends, cast them aside, and retreated increasingly into the bunker mentality that has destroyed so many leaders deluded by visions of immortality.

It was from the bunker that the poll tax emerged. Having been rejected by a long line of Environment Secretaries during the early years of office, the proposal was finally embraced in a consultative green paper published by the Environment Secretary, Kenneth Baker, in January 1986.

## Funny Old World

But even Mr Baker was nervous, and it was only when he was replaced by Nicholas Ridley later that same year that the plan was turned into legislative action. Despite all the Tory backbench rebellions, the bitter, trail-blazing experience of Scotland, and warnings of impending disaster, Mrs Thatcher charged ahead regardless.

While the injustice of a tax set at the same level for cleaner and millionaire alike was evident to all except the occupant of Number 10, it was the impact on the leafy shires that made the greatest impression on Mrs Thatcher's backbench colleagues.

The first taste of blood came in 1989, when Sir Anthony Meyer, a pro-European MP, made a formal challenge against Mrs Thatcher. He was naturally trounced by the Iron Lady, but had shown that it could be done. The pressure from the Tory "wets" for Michael Heseltine to make a challenge grew as the Prime Minister became more intolerant of dissent on the big political issue of the day - Europe, and moves towards economic and monetary union.

The "loss" of her Chancellor, Nigel Lawson, in October 1989, and the further "loss" of her Deputy Prime Minister, Sir Geoffrey Howe, in November 1990, were the straws that broke the camel's back.

But the critical weakness was the refusal to listen. Unbending, unyielding, she could only break, and break her they did. To the end, she refused to heed the advice - if, indeed, there was anyone left with the nerve to brave her wrath by telling her the truth.

On 20 November 1990, following a first round leadership challenge from Mr Heseltine, the Prime Minister fell four votes short of the margin required for clear-cut victory. Tory MPs had brought her to her knees. Once down, they were always going to ensure she never rose again.

"I confirm it is my intention to let my name go forward for the second ballot," she declared. By the end of the following night, after a procession of Cabinet colleagues had warned that she could not be guaranteed victory and might be opening the way for a Heseltine coup, she was forced to stand aside.

At Cabinet on 22 November, she bade her tearful farewell, and was heard to repeat the refrain she had used overnight to some friends: "It's a funny old world."

Anthony Bevins  
Political Editor



End of an era: She could scarcely believe those she loved so deeply had deserted her so fast. Photograph: Ken Lennox

# Sheep that learned to roar

The House of Commons is a cruel place, and MPs bayed with laughter when Sir Geoffrey Howe, Leader of the Commons, announced on 26 October 1989: "The Government remains confidently in charge." His announcement followed the resignation of Nigel Lawson as Chancellor of the Exchequer: the first hard evidence that Margaret Thatcher's reign was beginning to fall apart.

In the 1970s Mr Lawson had been one of the first and earliest volunteers to what was to become the Thatcherite cause, and the way in which Mrs Thatcher undermined him showed how badly she was becoming isolated. His resignation had been precipitated by Mrs Thatcher's appointment of right-wing monetarist and Euro-phobe Sir

## The assassins

Alan Walters as her personal economic adviser. The appointment was typical of the Thatcherite style at the time: she often preferred to undermine people before pushing them over. It was cruel but effective.

Losing a Chancellor was one thing, and perhaps she might have got away with that. But, to lose her Deputy Prime Minister, Sir Geoffrey Howe, proved just too much for jittery and destabilised Tory MPs who were growing increasingly concerned that their own necks were next.

While Mr Lawson's resignation speech had been damaging, it was nothing like the coup d'état delivered by Sir Geoffrey to the Commons. The man who had been

dubbed a "dead sheep" by Denis Healey showed that he was a wolf in sheep's clothing. His resignation letter highlighted the point that he has recently repeated in the "grande" letter to the *Independent*: "All too much of our energy during the last decade has been devoted to correcting the consequences of our late start in Europe... I am deeply anxious that the mood you have struck... will make it more difficult for Britain to hold and retain a position of influence in this vital debate."

The fact that the argument still rages within the Tory ranks today shows how little has changed since. If Margaret Thatcher created a divided country, she performed no less of a service for her party, too. Anthony Bevins

# Glad to be grey, defying the odds

Disagreements and splits over Europe, which threaten to overshadow this week's Conservative conference in Bournemouth, have seen John Major riding the tiger of a divided party for six long years.

From the moment he won the leadership on 27 November, 1990, Major has been trying to win command of his party.

His leadership campaign manager, Norman Lamont, was rewarded for victory over Michael Heseltine by being made Chancellor of the Exchequer. When Lamont in turn was sacked, Major's former ally used his resignation speech to accuse the Prime Minister of being "in office but not in power".

It was a breathtaking blow. Although not fatal like Sir Geoffrey Howe's resignation attack on Thatcher, it had a damaging ring of truth about Major's leadership.

In desperation, Major took the extraordinary step of resigning the leadership to force a leadership election in 1995 in an attempt to end the debilitating campaign against him by his critics on his own benches. He was challenged by John Redwood, then one of the minor figures in the Cabinet.

The election succeeded in settling the leadership question, but did not stop the sniping. The party was said to have fought against itself and had nearly lost. Around a third of the party either voted against him or refused to back him.

Major is seeking to rewrite the record books by seeking a fifth consecutive term of office for the Conservatives but many backbenchers and some ministers are focussing on the fight for the succession which will take place after the general election.

The two factors which have made Major incapable of getting a grip over his party are the deep divisions in the Conservative Party over Europe, and the presence of his predecessor, Margaret Thatcher.

Before the dust had settled over the leadership election in 1990, Lady Thatcher told a private meeting at Conservative Central Office that she would be a good back seat driver. It was intended as a joke, but carried the threat that she would be around to keep an eye on her successor.

She had brought up Major quickly - some said too quickly - from the whip's office, to the Foreign Office and the Treasury in grooming him for the leadership but fomented dissent among her devoted followers by letting it be known that she was disappointed with her protégé.

When he won the leadership, Britain was already engaged in the Gulf War. Thatcher had been confirmed as the Iron Lady by the Falklands War. The war against Saddam could have

## Brixton boy

galvanised Major into the Iron Man, but he toured the troops in a woolly sweater - confirming the public perception of the nice bloke from Brixton, the boy who ran away from the circus and joined a bank.

Major's strength was in mastering detail and at Maastricht fought hard over the small print of a treaty which was to dominate his years in office.

He won the 1992 General Election against all the odds, confounding Labour's slick campaign with the simplicity of his soap box. The Tory campaign posters, depicting a Labour "tax bombshell" appeared crude but proved lethal. As Neil Kinnock prepared to resign the Labour leadership, Major returned to Downing Street to declare that he wanted a "country at ease with itself". It was a hope he was never able to fulfil for his party.

Black Wednesday, 13 September, 1992, reinforced the impression of a Prime Minister at the mercy of forces beyond his control. Speculators made millions by selling sterling. Lamont tried to shore it up by raising interest rates, only to bring them down again when sterling was suspended from the European exchange rate mechanism. Major had taken Britain into the ERM; his policy was in ruins. Lamont later rejoined in the bath, but no-one resigned.

At Maastricht, Major secured an opt-out for Britain from the European social chapter and a single European currency, but he had put his name to a document which prepared the road for European economic and monetary union.

Major promised to put Britain "at the heart of Europe" but that was impossible without going down the Maastricht road, and the growing band of former Thatcherites, now labelled Euro-sceptics, were ready to ambush him at every turn.

Major survived rebellions and knife-edge votes, during the passage of the Maastricht Treaty Bill. In the midst of the European revolts, the Tories were hit by a series of sex scandals after Major had tried to revive the party with the "back to basics" campaign. He denied it was intended as a moral crusade, but the accusations of hypocrisy grew louder after Tory MPs were caught taking cash for questions and the Scott inquiry disclosed how ministers bent the export rules for Saddam before the Gulf War.

Given his turbulent years of office, it is no surprise that Major was accused of being a tactician, not a strategist. Behind it all was the desire of a decent man to bring the tiger to heel.

Colin Brown  
Chief Political Correspondent



Behind the barricades: Backbench unrest over European integration has been a persistent thorn in John Major's side. Photograph: Stefan Rousseau

# Sceptic Tendency and the whippers

A scoop by *The Independent* headlined "Major's Barmy Army" revealed the extent of John Major's frustration with the Euro-sceptics who have dogged his term of office.

The Prime Minister was on a trade mission to Japan in September 1993 when he gave vent to his anger at his critics on his own back benches. In the margins of an interview, Mr Major said: "I could name eight people. Half of those eight people are barmy. How many apples short of a picnic?"

The rest of Fleet Street tried to identify the "barmy army", and *The Independent* obliged by putting forward a few suspects from the Euro-sceptic wing of the Tory back bench: Teresa Gorman, Tony Marlow, John Carlisle and Sir Richard Body.

Within months, the Prime Minister had them in his sights again. After some of them rebelled on a bill to increase

## 'Barmy Army'

Britain's contributions to the European Union, he removed the whip from eight of the most prominent Euro-sceptics.

Norman Lamont, the former Chancellor, became one of Mr Major's most bitter critics when he resigned from the Cabinet in protest at being replaced by Kenneth Clarke. The "whippers" eight returned to the fold, but Mr Major's attempt at discipline failed to convince either the party or the country that he had a grip.

The real troublemakers were the Euro-sceptics in the Cabinet, to whom Mr Major had referred as "the bastards" - John Redwood, who openly challenged him for the leadership, Michael Portillo, Michael Howard, and Peter Lilley.

Stung by being called the "dithering Major", the Prime Minister revealed in off-the-

record remarks to ITN his reasons for not being more decisive: "The real problem is one of a tiny minority," he said. "I could have done all these clever, decisive things which people wanted me to do but I would have split the Conservative Party into smithereens."

In Tokyo, he said he was not just Prime Minister, but also leader of his party. To have followed Mrs Thatcher's leadership style would have split the party from top to bottom.

He has kept the party together, but trouble is looming from the awakening pro-European wing of the party: Kenneth Clarke, his Chancellor; and the other grandees who wrote their letter to *The Independent*, including Douglas Hurd and Lord Howe. Mr Major's troublemakers may have proved that being a manager is not enough.

Colin Brown

## Northern Ireland

# Testing times for troubled province

The old Chinese curse - may you live in interesting times - is afflicting Northern Ireland as much in 1996 as it did a decade ago. The killing rate may be lower, but the possibility of more violence remains in the air.

The prospect of an agreed settlement looks as far away as ever, as the age-old questions remain unresolved: whether Northern Ireland should be British, or Irish, or a hybrid; whether it is a political or a terrorist problem; whether a system can be found under which the two communities can live harmoniously side by side. Yet it has been an extraordinarily eventful decade, with many high points and low moments, instances of dialogue and outbreaks of violence, and numerous times of great hope and near-despair.

In 1986 Northern Ireland was described, rightly, as a tense and dangerous place: "Govern-

ment ministers venture out of their heavily fortified bases only furtively and under heavy escort. Unionist politicians refuse all contact with them; some Unionist MPs now appear regularly at menacing midnight shows of strength along with masked men carrying cudgels."

That loyalist unrest sprang mainly from the Anglo-Irish agreement of the previous year, which scandalised Unionist opinion by giving Dublin a formal input into the running of Northern Ireland. Unionists believed, then as now, that the accord undermined the union with Britain.

It was five years before the lure of Unionist politicians abated, and before they, the government and nationalist politicians sat down to round-table talks. Those talks proved unsuccessful. The Anglo-Irish agree-

ment did not evolve into the powerful instrument which nationalists had hoped for, but nor was it destroyed by Unionist opposition, and Northern Ireland came to be viewed more and more as an Anglo-Irish matter rather than a purely British issue.

Those five years were plainly traumatic for Unionists, but they also had a profound if less immediately obvious effect on the IRA and Sinn Féin. IRA violence continued, both in Northern Ireland and in Britain, but beneath the surface the agreement helped fuel a far-reaching debate within republicanism. It took years filled with violence and an underground warren of secret meetings involving republicans, both governments and others, for that debate to develop into the peace process which led to the IRA cessation of violence of August 1994.

When the loyalists followed suit two months later hopes were high as it seemed a new era of dialogue and negotiation had begun. But the atmosphere steadily soured with rows over demands for the de-commissioning of IRA weapons, over the calling of all-party talks and over how and when Sinn Féin might be admitted to political negotiations.

To some the IRA bomb attack on London's docklands in February did not come as a great surprise, given the sourness and lack of goodwill, but it still caused a huge shock, signifying as it seemed that the chance of peace had gone.

Another large bomb followed in Manchester, yet the attacks led not to a resumption of the troubles along the old lines, but rather a form of limbo. The IRA re-

mained intent on attacking England yet Northern Ireland itself remained comparatively quiet. The Drumcree summer marching controversy severely damaged community relations, but even then both republicans and loyalists held their fire.

The political talks eventually began this year, but Sinn Féin has been excluded from them because of the IRA violence. Few believe the talks will succeed, but no one knows whether a new peace process is possible, or whether there will be a slide back to full-scale violence. No one knows, in other words, whether another chance can be created for peace, or whether Northern Ireland is fated to endure another ten years of conflict.

David McKinnir  
Ireland Correspondent



## Rose wilted out in the wilderness

"Kinnock is now a charismatic figure," Tony Benn noted in his diary for 10 October 1986. Labour had just held its first re-designed pasted-and-rose conference, a pre-election rally bearing superficial resemblances to last week's.

Kinnock's standing ovation was six minutes long, as was Blair's last Tuesday. Benn had his self-important "usual annual agonies" on whether to join in or not. "But I came to the conclusion that it was part of the eve-of-election game you had to play."

It is a game Labour is now infinitely better at: it is no longer a game, in fact. Electoralism has entered the party's soul.

In other respects, Labour's 1986 conference took place in a different political universe. The most striking line in Kinnock's speech was an emotional rephrasing of a non-nuclear defence policy as the ultimate patriotism: "I would fight and die for my country, but I tell you I would never let my country die for me."

How people see the 1987 election is a key to rival views of current Labour history.

The modernisers – increasingly identified as a faction during the policy review which followed the election – argued that Labour was nearly destroyed in 1987. After Labour lost the Greenwich by-election to the SDP in February, the party was in third place in the opinion polls.

Gordon Brown and Tony Blair feared Labour might win fewer votes than the Liberal-SDP Alliance in the general election. For them, Labour's performance in the 1987 election was a triumph, owed in large measure to Peter Mandelson, Labour's communications director and their close adviser and friend.

For traditionalists, Labour's performance was a disaster, attributed to high presentational gloss taking precedence over policy substance.

The moderniser view is psychologically less comfortable, and allows less space for the romantic possibilities of idealism, but it gradually prevailed.

The truth is that Labour fought the 1987 election on most of the same policies as in 1983. Kinnock reversed the party's anti-European stance, much of the prescriptive detail of the "longest suicide note" was stripped out, and above all the presentation was modernised.

But in 1987 the party was forced to face the fact that it had presented a fundamentally unpopular case about as well as it could conceivably be presented.

Kinnock privately declared that he would "never again" try to defend the non-nuclear policy. The Independent played a strange role in the premeditated

### Old Labour

ed sell-out. After declaring on television that there was no need for "something for nothing" disarmament in the Gorbachev era, Kinnock reversed the spin by putting a lunch with our political staff on the record and telling the tape recorder the policy would stay. It lasted another year. Meanwhile, the commitments to extensive public ownership and to restoring trade union privileges were also being dismantled.

Behind this project, Kinnock assembled a coalition of the soft left and progressive right against the traditionalists of both left and right. But the project was flawed, because it was essentially reactive. By 1989 the policy review was over and the policies on which Labour should have fought the previous election were set in stone. Before modernisation had even begun, it was stalled.

Then Margaret Thatcher was gone, and the Labour leadership, paralysed by Kinnock's lack of confidence and John Smith's manoeuvring to succeed him, and lulled by skewed opinion polls, drifted listlessly into the 1992 election.

John Smith expected to win that election, and set off from his home in Edinburgh on the morning of polling day saying that he would come back as Chancellor of the Exchequer. But by the time the Basilidon result was announced he had put Plan B into operation.

Plan B had already caused friction, as Smith shut his rival Bryan Gould out of contention and kept open the option of replacing Kinnock before the election. Now, having waited patiently for 11 years, he seized the crown.

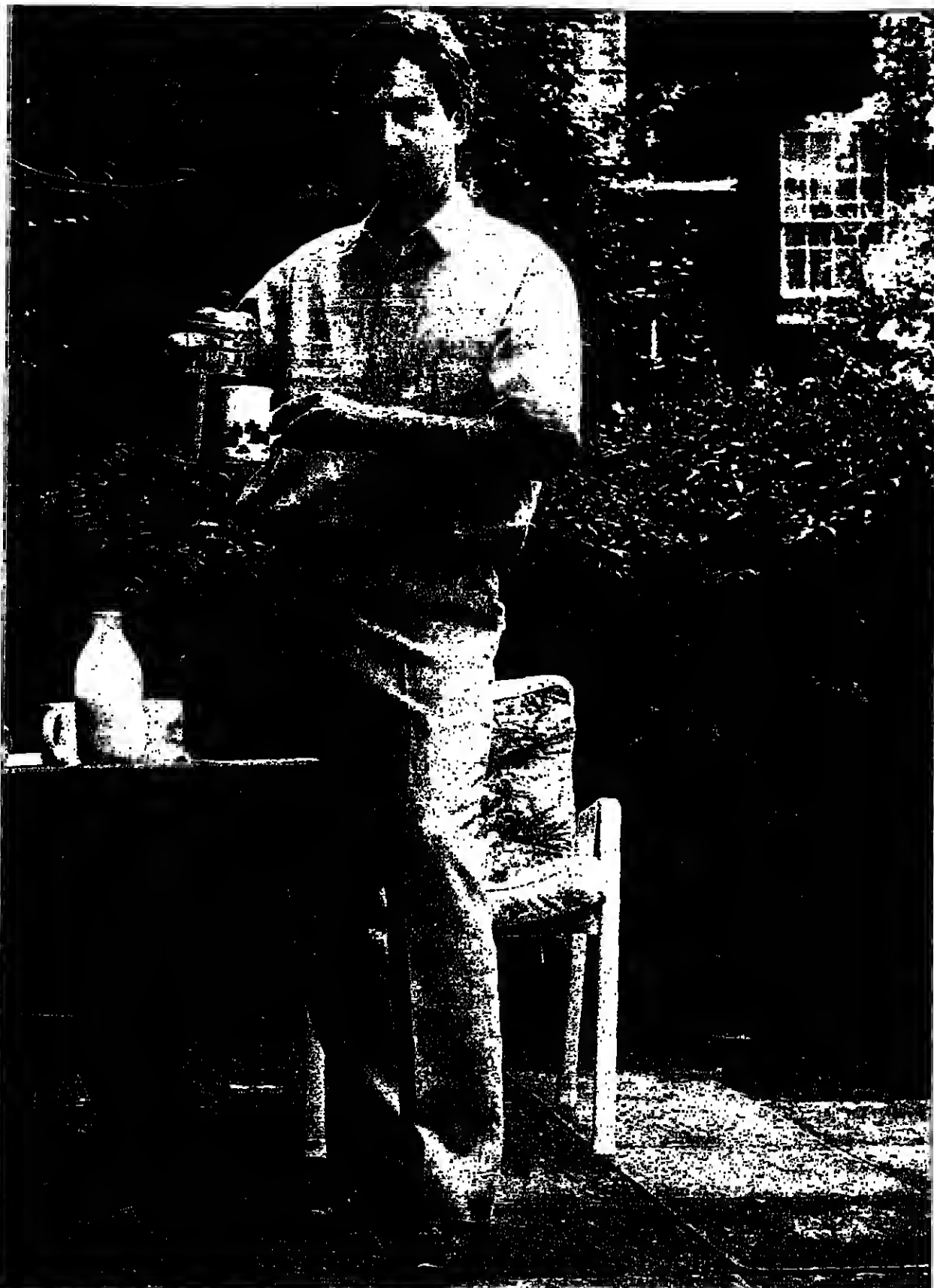
He was certainly the leader who might have won the 1992 election, but would he have won in 1997?

This is the second of the great issues of interpretation of the last 10 years of Labour's history, and again the modernisers' case is the more persuasive.

Blair and Brown were both personally close to Smith and genuine admirers of his – he had been a patron to both. But both felt that, having won the leadership on a moderniser platform – because there was no other – Smith had then settled for party unity at the expense of the necessary repositioning of Labour as a new party at the centre of British politics.

Leslie Butterfield, head of the party's advertising agency, suggested it should describe itself as "New Labour". But Smith rejected it. In the end his role was to make Labour safe for Tony Blair.

John Rentoul  
Political Correspondent



Project manager: The ultimate prize may now await the reforming Labour leader

Photograph: Brian Harris

## Trading favours for fairness

### Beyond the block vote

It has been *decem anni horribilis* for the union movement. Having lost any vestige of influence over the Government, it has gone on, over the past 10 years, to lose control of its own progeny – the Labour Party.

A decade ago trade unions commanded 90 per cent of the vote at Labour conferences and could often decide party policy.

By the end of the Eighties, the influence of union leaders on the Government had virtually disappeared. The "tripartite approach" was effectively dead and the National Economic Development Council – a forum for government, employers and unions – was a sham. John Major finally put the council out of its misery in late 1992.

Since then the Government has barely acknowledged the existence of the union movement. The corridors of power remained firmly closed and the unions then

proceeded to suffer at the hands of Labour.

One of the most reliable indicators of the unions' declining influence is Labour's attitude to Conservative labour relations legislation. From being committed to blanket repeal, Labour is now determined to retain most of it. Unions have salvaged just two promises.

Tony Blair has promised to introduce laws on union recognition and to repeal curbs on payroll check-off of membership fees. Unions have also elicited a pledge that Labour will sign up to the EU social chapter and introduce a minimum wage.

The most practical indication of waning influence over Labour has been the decline of voting power. Under the drive for "one member, one vote" the union's share of the

vote has been cut from 90 per cent to 50 per cent and some Blair advisers would like to see it fall even further.

A further Conservative term would be disastrous. Ministers appear to be planning more legislation to curb industrial action, specifically in the public sector.

Meanwhile, a Labour victory, under its "fairness not favours" theme, would not mean a return to fireside chats at Downing Street, but they may be able to influence policy by judicious conversations with ministers. It is likely there will also be a place for unions on the commission which will help the cabinet decide on a minimum wage.

That is why unions have collaborated with new Labour. It is their last best hope.

Barrie Clement  
Labour Editor

## Islington Man and the path to power

### New Labour

New Labour was created by stealth, a parasite in the body of an old party which was founded as the political wing of the trade union movement in 1900. This is the traditionalist charge against Tony Blair and his two-year leadership.

If Blair were brutally honest, he would plead guilty to the charge, and ask for two mitigating circumstances to be taken into account. One, old Labour was already dead and two, for most of its members their heads accepted the need for change, even if it was not in their hearts.

One of Blair's skills, of course, is that he is not brutally honest. He has never lied about his intentions, although sometimes you have to look at his words very carefully to realise that he has not said what you thought he had.

During the leadership campaign in 1994 he seemed to rule out a change to Clause IV, the commitment to "common ownership" in the party's constitution. He said no one wanted the debate about Clause IV "to be the priority of the Labour Party at the moment".

Nor did he think that "the vast majority of the British people sit out there and debate the intricacies of the Labour Party constitution".

He was elected leader of the party on a misleading, but not a dishonest, prospectus. His manifesto for the leadership was rightly derided by John Prescott as 5,000 warm words. It did not propose to change a single Labour policy.

Yet, within nine months of his election, he had changed policy on the single European currency, tax cuts, inflation, the minimum wage, exam league tables, grant-maintained schools, Northern Ireland, regional government and the House of Lords.

In every case, as has been observed many times, the change had the effect of moving Labour closer to the Conservatives. And then there was Clause IV into which he wrote phrases which would have been rejected out of hand by party members only a year before.

The Labour Party is now constitutionally bound to promote the "enterprise at the market and the rigour of competition".

Just as dramatic were the changes to the party itself: the trade union block votes at conference cut from 70 to 50 per cent and this year, the party's policy programme was dictated by the leadership and put to a ballot of the entire membership for endorsement.

Most audacious of all is Blair's use of political language. From being tough on crime to the party of business, he has engaged in what *Murison Today* intellectuals, once called a hegemonic project. His use of the left-of-centre label turned out to mean precisely what the critics of betrayal said it meant. It mutated before our very ears into the centre and left of centre, and now Labour is simply the party of the centre.

A realignment of politics in the next parliament no longer seems idle speculation. When he was a bit of a *Murison Today* intellectual himself, in 1987, Blair said: "The key to Mrs Thatcher's political success has been in destroying and re-creating contours of electoral support."

That, then, is what he is up to. He wants to destroy and incorporate the Liberal Democrats and do as much damage as possible to the Tories, preferably peeling off some of their One Nation wing.

But the "project" has run into a series of little local difficulties this year, and last week's conference was an exercise in reassurance for those party members disturbed by his and Harriet Harman's choice of schools, by the demolition of Clare Short and by the "take it or leave it" ballot on the manifesto. These were errors of judgement because – at least in the way they were handled – they gave the impression of politics as usual, rather than the new politics that Blair claimed to represent in 1994.

By seeking to reassure his party, Blair has again cast doubt on his core beliefs despite the impromptu passage on his father's stroke. There were too many slogans in the rest of his speech and not enough of the value-laden politics of family, community and duty.

In Blair's first nine months as leader, up to the special conference to rewrite Clause IV, party members were prepared to give him the benefit of the doubt. Since then, the doubts have crept in, and his mistakes have reinforced some of them.

Before Harold Wilson's second election victory in 1966, Iain Macleod, inverted John F. Kennedy's description of himself as an "idealist without illusions". The Prime Minister, said Macleod, is an illusionist with ideals. It is a description of Blair that has become more possible over the last year, and has not yet been contradicted.

John Rentoul

ndency  
hipless

## The Spin Doctorate comes of age – with a ready soundbite

Spin doctor, n. A person, esp. a political aide, responsible for ensuring that others interpret an event from a particular point of view.

The term was invented in the 1984 presidential campaign in America, when Ronald Reagan was re-elected and Walter Mondale swept aside.

The term entered the lexicon in Britain when Labour shocked the media with a ruthlessly disciplined and professional election campaign in 1997. Peter Mandelson was not the first spin doctor in British politics – as he pointed out last month, Samuel Pepys was paid 30 shillings a year to handle Charles II's media relations – but he was responsible for a step change in British electioneering, in which the terms soundbite and photo-opportunity also became current.

Mandelson was appointed to the new post of Labour director

### The hard sell

of communications in 1983. He was three things: a spin doctor, a meticulous organiser and an adviser on political tactics. In all three roles he excelled, although the press knew most about one first and so wrote most about it. He briefed journalists, often with different outcomes to suit their different outlets, planted stories helpful to the leadership and made those whose reports were unhelpful feel uncomfortable.

But in the 1987 campaign he and Patricia Hewitt, Kinnock's press secretary, responded to the development of videotape technology with a ruthlessness which caught the broadcasters by surprise. The TV newsmen thought they would be able to provide more immediate and authentic coverage of what was really happening on the ground in the campaign with light-

weight cameras and rapid "feeds" from around the country. Instead they found themselves filming Neil Kinnock in settings dictated entirely by the Labour Party.

Although the Tories won a crushing victory, they felt outmanoeuvred; Norman Tebbit, mastermind of the 1987 Tory campaign, said that if he could afford to buy Mandelson he would. The Tories set about trying to catch up but never found an equivalent figure, although Tim Collins, the Central Office apparatchik who seemed much more junior than he was, came close. His finest hour was to put a favourable spin on John Major's victory in the Tory leadership election last year, when one third of Tory MPs failed to back him.

For the newspapers, the Independent led the campaign to identify the Prime Minister's press secretary as the source of

information when, in its early years, its political editor and correspondents did not participate in the lobby system of off-the-record briefings by Downing Street.

Labour continues to be seen as ahead of the Tories in spin power: Tony Blair's press secretary, Alistair Campbell, is widely respected and, although he said last month that he had only a staff of two press officers, the party itself has a dozen media staff at HQ, plus shadow cabinet aides and regional press officers.

Mandelson himself said last week: "I'm not a spin doctor. I don't talk to journalists." As he was in the middle of a discussion with Elinor Goodman, political editor of *Channel 4 News*, in the press room at the Labour conference at the time, this was less than convincing.

John Rentoul



Now listen here: Alistair Campbell (right) dispenses the truth according to Labour

Photograph: John Voos

### Striking a balance

## Male bastion changing slowly

It had promised to be such a wonderful decade. In October 1986, there were 27 women MPs: 13 Conservative, 12 Labour and 2 Alliance.

Admittedly those 27 women still only made up 4 per cent of this Mother of Parliaments, but it seemed that change must be imminent. After all, one of those women was the Prime Minister, surely a successful role model for would-be women politicians?

The early signs from Westminster were cheering. In late October, Mrs Thatcher finally conceded that a bit of effort should be made to get more women into public life. In December 1986, Harriet Harman became the first MP to take maternity leave from a front-bench position. The SDP's party rule after every shortlist should include women

ensured that there were plenty of female candidates. And the 1987 election itself increased the number of women to 41.

Ten years on, very little of that promise has been realised. Another general election and several by-elections later, only 9.6 per cent of the Commons are women. This kind of rate of change – 5 per cent per decade – wouldn't give women equal representation with men for another 80 years. Oh yes, and the Prime Minister is a man again too.

The House of Commons itself has barely changed. A barber's, but no hairdressers, a rifle range but no creche; such are the facilities that Westminster has to offer. Parliamentary hours have adapted slightly, with committees now meeting in the mornings rather than late into the night, allow-

ing MPs with families in London to get home to them during the week.

The absence of change has repercussions far beyond Parliament itself. Faced with a government that is more than 90 per cent male, it is hardly surprising that women are more suspicious of politics than men, and less likely to trust political leaders.

But the maleness of politics is not for want of trying by the few high-profile women who have been successful. The great political drama of the decade – the betrayal and ousting of a Prime Minister in 1990 – featured a woman at centre-stage. Three and a half years later, Labour's Margaret had her moment of stardom too. When Labour leader John Smith died suddenly, Margaret Beckett gave a strong and dignified performance

as acting leader. Meanwhile Betty Boothroyd, elected the first woman speaker in 1992, keeps a house of rowdy men under control with superb authority.

Within the Conservative Party, Gillian Shepherd and Virginia Bottomley have climbed the Parliamentary ladder to join the Cabinet. Sadly, Mrs Shepherd is undervalued, and Mrs Bottomley regularly undermined. The entertaining Edwina Currie and Teresa Gorman remain safely on the sidelines. When Emma Nicholson defected from the Conservatives to the Liberal Democrats, she was subjected to fierce sexist vitriol from both men and women in her old party. Her new party has rather better female representation: 16 per cent of its MPs are women. The most well-known Labour women

(apart from Mrs Beckett), Harriet Harman and Clare Short, have had turbulent decades.

A rising star through the Eighties, Ms Harman provoked hostility among colleagues with her choice of schools for her sons, before being forgiven and re-elected to the NEC this autumn. Ms Short has swung on and off the front bench.

In 1990 Clare Short published a Fabian pamphlet calling for all-women shortlists in safe seats. Soon it was official party policy. Now Labour has 112 women candidates, 43 with a good chance, among the Conservatives, there are hardly any women candidates. But even so, the numbers bound to rise substantially in the next Parliament.

Yvette Cooper



# Survival in hostile territory

Those close to Paddy Ashdown, the Liberal Democrat leader, say that their greatest achievement over the past 10 years has been to survive as a party.

They are being squeezed for the centre ground by Labour under Tony Blair, and the next election will be a severe test of whether there is a place for a third force in British politics.

But whatever the outcome, the 1997 campaign is unlikely to be as difficult for Mr Ashdown as the 1987 election proved for the two-headed Alliance of the two Davids - Steel and Owen. Campaigning separately, they were tripped up by journalists armed with mobile telephones.

The differences between the leaders of the Liberal Party

and the SDP were torn open by a simple question: if there was a hung Parliament, who would they support: Thatcher or Kinnoch? Owen appeared to endorse Thatcher, while Steel left little doubt that he would prefer to support Labour.

The Alliance share of the vote fell from 25 per cent in 1983 to 22 per cent in 1987, and they were left with 22 seats - one fewer than before. Wounded by their failure to make any breakthrough, Steel and some members of the former SDP gang of four, moved quickly to merge the two parties.

They had not calculated for the possibility that Dr Owen might prefer to go it alone, and lead his own party against the

## The middle ground

newly-created Liberal Democrats. Bob MacLennan pleaded with him not to do so, but there was worse to follow.

When the Liberal Democrats - under MacLennan's temporary leadership - relaunched with the yellow bird logo, it was dismissed by Thatcher as a "dead parrot" but when the Liberal Democrats won the Eastbourne by-election, it appeared that the bird had twitched.

Paddy Ashdown took over the leadership of the Liberal Democrats from Steel in July 1988 at a time when the party had its backs to the wall. The turn-around began with Ashdown making five speeches in

one week at the party's 1989 conference. Surviving a sex scandal, his hyper-active leadership was to be the strength and the weakness of the party's revival. He was accused of being a one-man band and some former Liberals regretted the merger.

Ashdown concentrated on local government - surrendering the European elections - to rebuild from the grass roots. In the European poll, the Greens hit a record 15 per cent and the Liberal Democrats got only seven. The party faced a financial crisis.

The SDP faced a more serious financial crisis of its own when its principal backer, David

Sainsbury, pulled out. The death knell was sounded at the Liverpool Bootle by-election in May 1990 when the SDP candidate was beaten by Screaming Lord Sutch of the Monster Raving Looney Party. Owen decided the party was over, and wound up the SDP.

Ashdown and the Liberal Democrats kept up a brave face for the 1992 election, but slumped to 17.8 per cent of the vote - the lowest share of the poll for a third party since the Liberals' 7.5 per cent in 1970. They secured 29 seats, now lifted to 25 as a result of by-election victories and the defection of Emma Nicholson.

The Liberal Democrats' Parliamentary strength is four

times the Liberals' number of seats in the 1960s, and double that in the 1970s. Their strategists say they used to get one seat for every per centage point in the polls; that is now one and a half seats for every point.

Ashdown's strategy is now to concentrate on target seats in the hope of securing proportionately more seats at the election. But the former hype about a breakthrough has been replaced by a new realism. They want sufficient leverage on Prime Minister Blair to win electoral reform. That could give the third force a new dimension.

Colin Brown  
Chief Political Correspondent



Family man: Like others before her, Judith Mellor suffered the indignity of taking part in a photo-call with her husband, in an effort to salvage his career after his infidelity had been revealed in the press. Initially the couple remained together, but divorced following Mr Mellor's eventual resignation from the Government

## Scandal

# Major's moral crusade haunted by buried skeletons

Like politics itself, political scandal is always with us; only the packaging and presentation change. Gladstone and David Mellor may have had something in common but their style was somewhat different. Gladstone apparently read the Bible to prostitutes, while Mr Mellor preferred having his toes sucked. Either way, it adds up to scandal, even if neither man did perform in a Chelsea football shirt.

The past 10 years have been awash with reports of sexual misdemeanors, to the extent that, during the winter of 1993-1994, there was a real threat of scandal fatigue. After reading about Tim Yeo's love child, David Ashby sharing a bed with another man and Stephen Norris sharing his with at least four women, fresh scandals came and went with barely an eyebrow raised by bored readers.

Mr Norris, the former transport minister felt safe enough with public reaction that he considered calling his memoirs, serialised on BBC Radio 4 this week, *More Room on Top*.

It was all, of course, John Major's fault. He had been naive enough to tell his party conference in 1993 that he wanted a more moral Britain. We should, he said, get back to Basics. That was OK if there were no skeletons in the cupboard but not if you were one of many Tory MPs with bones aplenty.

Hot on the heels of Yeo, Mellor, Ashby and Norris came Hartley Booth, who admitted an affair with his researcher, and Gary Waller, another Tory with a love-child. Most of this was missed by the foreign media, but there was worldwide coverage of the death of Stephen Milligan, the MP found dead in stockings and suspenders with a plastic bag over his head. It was a tragic way to die, but it typified the mess into which the Tories had trodden.

It didn't seem fair that the other parties got away with it. When it was revealed that Paddy Ashdown had had an affair - prompting the classic Sun headline "Paddy Pantsdown" - his ratings actually improved.

More serious were the financial scandals. Whereas many MPs survived their sexual indiscretions, they found it more difficult to live through financial problems. Few found it easy to take seriously Norman Lamont's concern about claims that he bought champagne and cigarettes in a red light district. It was later proved that he hadn't. But when it was revealed that he had overspent his credit card limit 22 times, many asked just what control this Chancellor exercised over the public finances.

Alan Duncan quit his post after it was revealed that he had provided a neighbour with the money to buy his Westminster council house under "right to buy" legislation. Mr Duncan got to keep the property in return for allowing the man to live there rent-free until he died. It wasn't illegal, but many thought it an abuse. Also in Westminster, Dame Shirley Porter is still fighting allegations that she tried to trade homes for votes by selling off council houses in marginal areas on the basis that homeowners were more likely to vote Tory.

Some ministers found themselves embroiled in scandal through a lack of judgement, while others appeared to gain financially. Michael Mates resigned for sending a watch to Asil Nadir, the fugitive Polly Peck boss with the inscription "don't let the buggers get you down". It was not a hanging offence, according to John Major, but Mr Mates went, nonetheless.

More recently, those involved in the "Cash for Questions" scandal were viewed with disdain by many of their peers. Agreeing to table

questions on behalf of a journalist posing as a businessman cost the ministerial jobs of David Tredinnick and Graham Riddick.

Neil Hamilton and Tim Smith were forced to resign after allegations that they had accepted cash from Mohammed al-Fayed, owner of Harrods, to ask questions on his behalf.

Links with the likes of Mr Nadir and Mr Fayed proved to be a dangerous policy for some MPs. It was Mr Fayed who provided the evidence against Mr Hamilton that resulted in him abandoning his libel suit against the Guardian last week.

Dangerous, too, for Jonathan Aitken. As well as details of some £18,000 he claimed he gave to Mr Hamilton, Mr Fayed gave details of gifts and hospitality. And he said he gave similar hospitality at the Ritz Hotel in Paris, which he owns, to Jonathan Aitken, who had been minister for arms procurement. Staying at the hotel at the same time - by coincidence, according to Mr Aitken - were some arms dealers, the relative of one of whom appeared to have paid half of his bill. That, Mr Aitken said, was a mistake which had been corrected later.

Not even Margaret Thatcher escaped the whiff of scandal. She had signed a £21bn arms deal with Saudi Arabia Ltd, after she left office, rumours emerged of £12m commission secured on the deal by her son Mark, whose involvement had concerned senior civil servants for some time.

There was a time when it may have seemed unthinkable that Lady Thatcher would be embroiled in scandal. Such has politicians' esteem fallen, however, that the public is now surprised when they hear of an MP who has not.

Steve Boggan

# The nationalist dream finds expression in Hollywood

## Disunited Kingdom

Patience has been a minor form of despair rather than a virtue for Scotland's nationalists over the last decade. When they were up, they were up, and when they were down they pretended to be still up. Over the last 10 years leaders have marched the SNP to the summits of expectation, and broken out the bandages on the way back down. After 300 years, what's another decade?

It must say something about hopes for independence when only Hollywood can cause brave Celtic hearts to pound. If only Mel Gibson could change his name to Wallace and stand in Edinburgh Pentlands.

Gibson MP is fantasy. Reality is four SNP and four Plaid Cymru MPs in the Commons. Arithmetic makes them parliamentary equals - but they pose different levels of threat to the two main parties.

In the late 1980s the SNP believed a secret weapon would alter history: Margaret Thatcher. Most Scots, never liked Mrs T;

they hated her. If Labour could not heat her, then Scottish Labour would haemorrhage and only the SNP could save the patient. It can be dangerous to compare politics and medicine and so it proved.

The Tories haemorrhaged, Labour benefited, but not enough, and the all-party Campaign for a Scottish Assembly was launched in 1988 officially to prepare for a Scottish parliament, and unofficially to bestow patience.

The SNP want outright independence, but the Welsh seek only greater control. Democracy has been kind to Plaid Cymru, delivering four MPs with half the level of popular support earned by the SNP.

Decimation of the coal and steel industries was followed by a hike in inward investment to ease the pain. Curiously the

result is the Welsh are more Welsh than ever.

North of the border the Thatcher government treated Scotland as a political laboratory, with the poll tax arriving a year ahead of everywhere else. During those years the SNP elected a new young leader, Alex Salmond, branded by Malcolm Rifkind as "the infant Robespierre." Salmond had barely become leader when the faithful ditched the Blessed Margaret.

The SNP may have wept at the fall of Thatcher, but when John Major ditched the poll tax it was said even the albatross dogs which roam Glasgow's run down estates in pairs (for protection) were weeping in the streets.

Salmond turned the SNP into a believable force. But in the run up to the 1992 election, his dreams ran away with his strategy. "Scotland Free in 93" was

adopted as party slogan - but Lord James Douglas Hamilton, the Scottish Office minister, quickly laughed it off with "On the floor in 94."

The SNP had four MPs going into the election. They increased their share of the vote and yet ended up with only three seats. As Scotland Correspondent of the Independent I asked Salmond after the disappointment if he had the stamina for another five years. He laughed. The question was impertinent, or painful, or he was working on a new strategy.

Now the SNP believe they have a new secret weapon: Tony Blair and Labour's fudge on home rule.

Maybe the Scots have become too comfortable with being patient. Maybe that is their saving grace. "Though patience be a tired mare, yet she will plod" wrote Shakespeare in Henry V. Good sentiments, but then Henry was English after all.

James Cusick



Bravehearts: Many continue to resent the Tories, and calls for devolution are growing louder Photograph: David Rose

## Days of our lives

### THE INDEPENDENT Major pledges Tory unity



### THE INDEPENDENT Major back at No 10



### THE INDEPENDENT Monck quits anti-apartheid



### THE INDEPENDENT MAN WHO WOULD HAVE LED BRITAIN



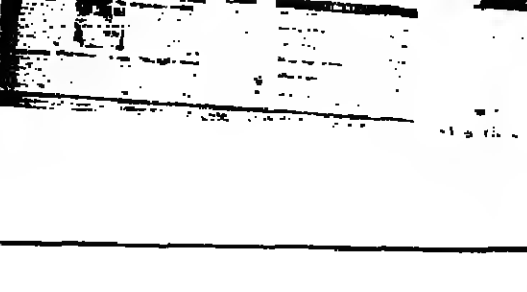
### THE INDEPENDENT Labour sets out to earn Britain's trust



### INDEPENDENT Major's big gamble pays off



### INDEPENDENT Minister quits to fight libel battles





# It's time for our leaders to face trial by TV

In the early hours of yesterday (our time) the first televised debate took place between President Bill Clinton and his Republican challenger Bob Dole. It did not make for compelling viewing – except for students of the political process, who will have been counting the thousands of staff hours that must have gone into preparing two candidates who for all their political skills are neither natural television performers, nor polished debaters. By all accounts the result was nil. Both Dole failed to land one of the President or force him into error; Clinton avoided stepping into the mire of allegations about drugs or personal life. Likewise the septuagenarian kept his end up without betraying the meanness of spirit that has, till now at least, been his stock in trade. So the judgement might be that this was hardly an example to be followed here as we stumble towards our general election. Wrong, on both counts.

The televised debate does the United States credit as a functioning democracy adapting to the modern world. Only a hair-shirted purist wedded to some mythical Athenian model of open-air franchise can object to the rapprochement of the electoral process and modern technology. Voters do not just need to see candidates on television and judge their performance on the medium,

they are entitled to it. It is important neither to exaggerate the psephological effects of television in elections, nor to underestimate the many ways in which pictures of candidates feed into beliefs and voting decisions.

Tricky Dicky Nixon was wrong to blame the medium for exposing his blue chin in the 1960 presidential election when he engaged in television debate with JFK. There is little American evidence, then or since, that performance on television as such has determined an election outcome. Neither Gerry Ford's defeat nor Ronald Reagan's victory four years later was the result of television debate. Bill Clinton did not thwart George Bush's bid for a second term because he outshone him on the box. Television has none the less become an essential vehicle. It captures moments, reinforces an impression, reflects and sometimes compounds a candidate's weaknesses or ambiguities. The television debate, three weeks or so before voters decide, has now become an informative ritual from which candidates shrink at their peril.

But that is the United States. Here we are not (yet) electing a president. But television already plays a huge – if little understood – role in political choice. British calculations being so much more difficult to make because of the weight of our partisan press. Use of television (which may often turn into use by television) is nowadays part of

the governing process. What minister can hope to put over a controversial policy to the House of Commons alone, without attempting to persuade and inform in the television studios? Even their own backbenchers judge them as much by their performance in the debating chamber. Now that the proceedings of Parliament itself are televised, and now that politicians are so comfortable with the grammar of the medium and its opportunities for attack and defence, it is only logical to do what the Americans do and bring the party leaders into a formal televised election debate

some weeks before polling. The Hansard Society has recently been thinking about logistics.

Here is our plan. It is for two or three substantial debates in which participants are allowed to cross-question each other, perhaps around a theme such as Europe or tax. The debate itself could be led, as in the United States, by panels of journalist-interlocutors chosen broadly to reflect the balance of opinion in the country. Though Messrs Major and Blair would not like it, these debates ought to be three-handed. This is not out of some instinct of kindness to the underdog. Ross Perot would

have enlivened the presidential debates in the US for the same reason Paddy Ashdown could make the difference between TV liveliness or boredom here. With two participants there is a danger of set-piece speeches dominating the event. With three there is greater opportunity for spiky cross-reference, with the man never likely to reach the top office setting barbed traps for contenders anxious to stay on the straight and narrow path to Number Ten.

John Major should give the proposal serious thought. He is better in micro than in macro. It would probably be to his advantage to engage in such face-to-face discussion. Tony Blair, the contender, ought to welcome every opportunity to challenge the incumbent. One of the sessions should certainly be devoted to Europe, so that we can see how close the two may actually be, once they are outside the artificial contention of Prime Minister's Question Time.

We do not need to read Dickens's account of Eatanswill in *Pickwick Papers* to be reminded that the open hustings of yore were rarely a means of informing voters. And yet it is hard to resist the attractions of seeing the principal candidates in the flesh doing what comes naturally – advancing their cause by word and gesture. The camera's electronic eye is hardly foolproof. But it can see embarrassment, shilly-shallying and evasion. It gives a fair guide – to an audience now thor-

oughly schooled in the nuances of the medium – to sincerity and trustworthiness. It does not replace manifestos. It cannot obscure the faults or attractions of others in the ministerial team. It certainly will not confound the brute facts of economic history and policy competence. But it might add a useful occasion for seeing leaders in action. The capacity to perform on television is now, for better or worse, an essential ingredient in the make-up of a successful democratic politician.

## Latin for love, not learning

Nick Tate, the Government's chief curriculum adviser, has a tendency to wallow in strange prejudices, for example over the question of teaching children this island's story as if there were a single, agreed version. Now he is suggesting primary school children might benefit from learning Latin. Nonsense. Classics teachers love to assure us that learning Latin helps children with grammar and other romance languages. Maybe it does, maybe it doesn't. But Latin is a dead language, and we have enough trouble persuading children to speak English. The ancient languages are a beautiful ornament, not a necessity: let them be studied out of love alone.

## LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

### Put adoption needs before party politics

Sir: As lawyers concerned with the welfare of children in care and adoption proceedings we share the concerns of the British Agencies for Adoption & Fostering (BAAF) at suggestions that the Government will not make time available in the coming parliamentary session for an Adoption Bill for England and Wales.

It would be a grave disservice to children if their interests were to be subordinated to party political considerations, and we urge all parties to ensure that priority is given to facilitating the passage of a Bill already published in draft, generally non-contentious, which is designed to promote the interests of children. Subject to some necessary amendments, on most of which we expect a wide measure of agreement, the draft Bill would provide a sound legislative framework for adoption.

The 1976 Adoption Act not only fails to reflect current practice, which has changed enormously in the last 20 years, but also fits imperfectly with the Children Act 1989 in a number of respects.

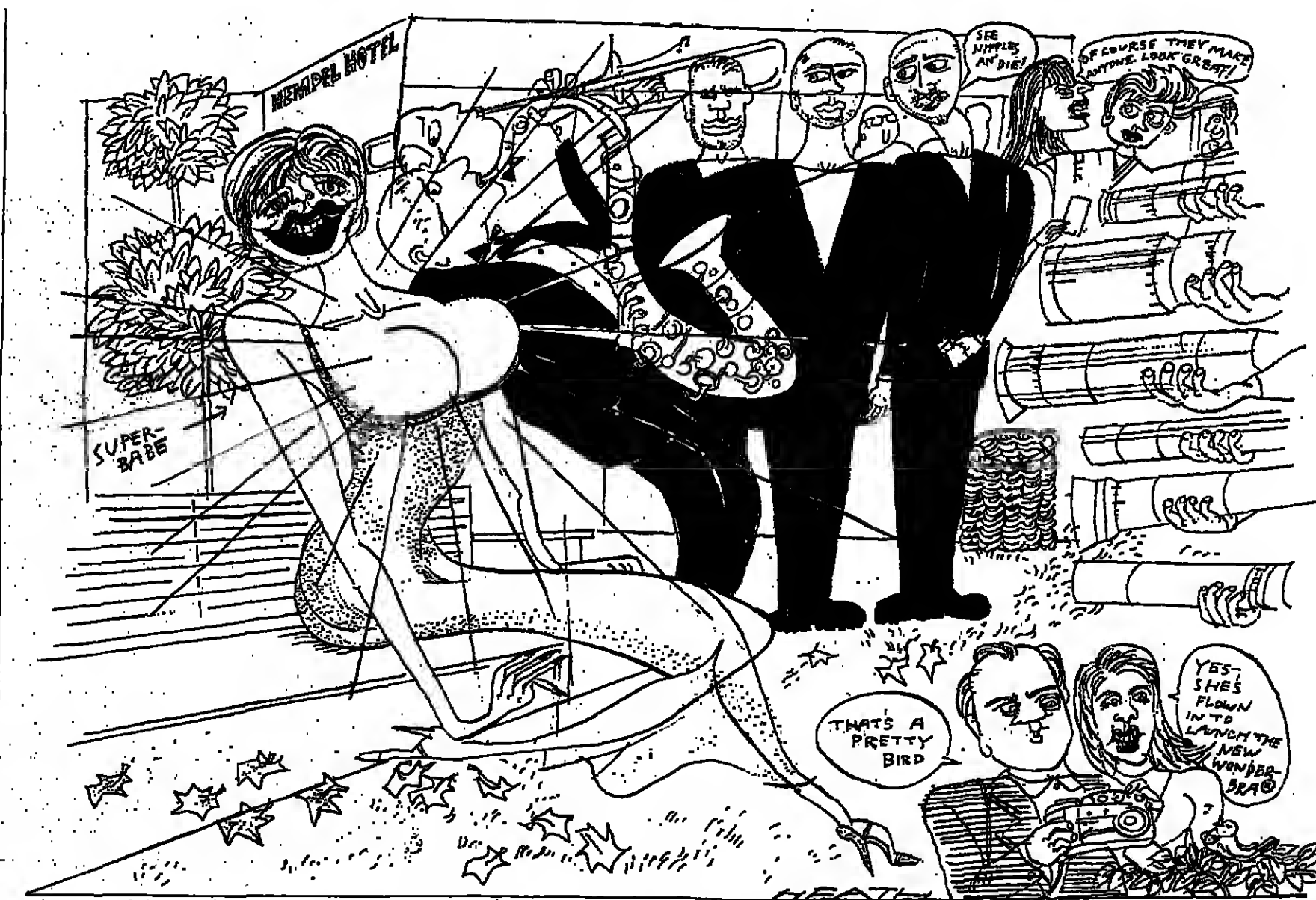
At present, if a step-parent adopts the child of his or her spouse, that spouse also has to become an adoptive parent. Parents are understandably affronted by this requirement, which can also cause considerable confusion for the child in later life. The proposed legislation would end this – as has already been provided for Scotland in the Children (Scotland) Act 1995.

The draft Bill contains measures which would give effect to the provisions of the 1993 Hague Convention on Intercountry Adoption, not only in England and Wales but also in the rest of the UK. The convention contains important safeguards without which children remain at risk of exploitation through intercountry adoption.

Where changes to legislation are proposed in detail, but delayed for an indefinite period, there can be confusion among both professionals and the public about what the law actually "says". It also provides a rationale to postpone important improvements in practice and procedures.

Adoption is a unique way of providing "a family for life" for children who cannot return to their birth families – these children are often the most disadvantaged in our society and, if a clear decision is not made about their future, the long-term effects may be very serious.

JENNIFER JENKINS,  
Chair, BAAF Legal Group  
His Honour Judge PETER UROUHART  
ALLAN LEVY QC  
Lord MESTON QC  
ANDREW McEARLANE  
JANE HOVAL  
BARBARA SLOMNICKA  
SUSANNA WALKER  
JOHN MITCHELL  
PAUL EVANS  
IAN ROBERTSON  
BARBARA MITCHELS  
MAGGIE RAE  
SARAH SLATER  
Dr CAROLINE BALL  
Senior Lecturer in Law, University of East Anglia  
Professor MICHAEL FREEMAN  
Professor CHRISTINA LYON  
Professor JUDITH MASSON  
NORMA MARTIN CLEMENT  
Lecturer in Law, Leeds University  
GILLIAN DOUGLAS  
Chair, BAAF Welsh Legal Group  
London SE1



Michael Heath's Britain: Eva Herzogova launches new Wonderbra week

### Mind, body and chronic fatigue

Sir: Well said, Yvette Cooper ("Tired of all this miserable ME stuff", 4 October). We too have had some "help" for our mild but relapsed Chronic Fatigue Syndrome that has demoralised rather than encouraged us. We have also faced the problem that laymen think the term "chronic fatigue" means that you should be bedridden through exhaustion. They then conclude that if you're not, it's all in your mind.

There seems little doubt that CFS is an illness that affects and is affected by both physiological and psychological processes. It causes widely differing symptoms. Some people, particularly adolescents, are sorely debilitated. Others, like us, cope for years with milder symptoms that ebb and flow.

The problems for the medical profession of diagnosis and treatment are particularly acute. But explaining the condition and getting supportive action from officialdom, employers and even well-intentioned friends is doubly difficult.

Until the causes and cures of CFS are understood, we have to take care to present what we do know as lucidly as possible, both to sustain the sufferers and to educate those who are in a position to help or hinder.

MARY PIMM  
NKK WOOD  
London E9

example (most famously illustrated in Esther Rantzen's appalling ME programme) of stigmatising people with mental illness as somehow morally inferior.

As the Joint Colleges' report, referred to in the article, makes clear, ME (better termed Chronic Fatigue Syndrome) usually has both physical and psychiatric components. Sufferers who, because of fear of stigma, deny the possibility of psychological influences on treatment, both deprive themselves of sometimes helpful forms of therapy and denigrate others, suffering from depression, as not really ill at all.

What they do for themselves is their own business. Their attitudes to those suffering from depression are not acceptable.

Professor PHILIP GRAHAM  
London NW5

### How Jung beat Ceausescu

Sir: I discovered Jung ("A psychic pyramid seller", 1 October) when I was a young Romanian searching for an alternative to the all-pervasive Marxist ideology and I must confess that I never considered Freud as more than a manicured version of Marx, with the same love for dogma and hatred for the good side of the human soul.

One of the secrets of the perennial appeal of Jung is the convincing way in which he put the individual above any system,

showing that any totalitarian regime (be it Communist or fascist) relies heavily on individuals who have not yet reached the stage of "wholeness" or "individuation" which your article tries to decide but which is the infallible mark of a genuine humankind.

BOGDAN IBERCIU  
London SE22

### Bill for Trident still to be paid

Sir: I admire Clare Short's honesty. There should be more decent people like her in Parliament. However, she is simply wrong in asserting in her speech to the Labour Party conference that "there are no savings to be made by scrapping Trident" (report, 4 October).

Whoever briefed Ms Short presumably put it that as about £10bn of the £12bn of the construction costs for Trident submarines has already been committed and the rest will have been expended by the time of a May 1997 election, Trident is a financial fait accompli. Wrong.

The huge hangover costs of Trident are its operational, repair, refit and decommissioning costs. Estimates vary from Greecepeace's £21bn to £38bn calculated by Sir Ronald Mason, former Chief Scientific Adviser to the Ministry of Defence, who chaired the working group that advocated the purchase of Trident from the United States.

As Ms Short battles for

resources after she becomes minister for overseas development next year, she should not overlook the Trident savings pot.

Dr DAVID LOWRY  
Stonleigh, Surrey

### Tories cut down on factory safety

Sir: The explosion at Albright and Wilson (report, 4 October) should focus public attention on changes being made by the Tory government to the inspection activities of the Health and Safety Executive.

On 17 July this year, the Department of Trade and Industry ran a deregulation seminar for the chemical industry. The GMB was there and heard government ministers beg industry to tell it what health and safety laws to get rid of. Yet in 1994, after one of the most searching reviews of health and safety legislation, the Government accepted a report showing there was no "unnecessary burden" placed on UK firms by such laws.

In March this year, the Government kicked out 85 of its most senior health and safety inspectors to save money. It also reorganised the whole of the Health and Safety Executive chemical division.

Encouraging "self-regulation" while restricting inspection activities only leads to the lives of workers and the public being put at risk. The Tories say that safety standards will be maintained. We

can only expect that safety standards will fall.

NIGEL BRYSON  
Director, Health and Environment, GMB  
London SW19

### Secret messages on the Internet

Sir: Regarding encryption technology (report, 2 October; letter, 7 October), could governments not pass a law similar to that which applies to search warrants? The authorities could apply to a judge for a warrant to enforce the disclosure of decryption keys in the case of a suspected crime. This would answer civil liberty or commercial worries by offering recourse to a legal defence and remove the need for a bureaucracy to administer all the private keys. Of course, the security services would not then be able to view encrypted files in secret.

ANDREW THORNBURY  
Aberdeen

### Nation of vandals

Sir: I sympathise with John Cundill (letter, 4 October) in his criticism of John Gummer's calling for well-mannered architecture in our cities. As a current witness to my neighbour's systematic ruin of a fine Arts and Crafts house with replacement windows etc. I can think of no better quotation than that of our great Edwardian architect Sir Edwin Lutyens, who said: "The public don't know and don't really care a dog's leg about architecture."

TERENCE EDGAR  
Wallasey, Wirral

### Neglected death camp survivors

Sir: I would like to add my voice to the comments on Holocaust survivors (Letters, 1 and 3 October). Why are we so neglected?

I came here from Bergen-Belsen when I was six. In 1965, 20 years later, the Federal Republic of Germany paid me £486.30 compensation which included, I was told, the loss of my father in Auschwitz. He, along with my sister, grandmother, numerous relatives and 13 million other people, was murdered. An agreement between governments prevented any further claims.

Governments make decisions. Swiss banks board gold, works of art are withheld from their rightful owners, the Bank of England holds £40m of so-called Nazi funds, and 50 years go by before there is serious debate and polite suggestions that these funds should be used to benefit Holocaust survivors.

Here is the clear indication that we are still regarded as victims and, worse still, see ourselves as victims grateful to our host country for our existence. That is our inheritance. That is why we remain neglected and will do so until we stop apologising for being alive and demand our rights as people.

MAURICE BLIK  
London EC2

Sir: One good use that could be made of the money stolen by the Nazis from Jews and sequestered by German Swiss banks after the war would be to compensate Arabs deprived of their property to make way for Jewish settlement.

Another would be to compensate Germans like Frau Herta Fuchs of Dresden, who lost everything – husband, property and health – as a result of giving shelter to two Jews on the run at the end of the war and whose only wish now is to return to the smallholding from which she was ousted. (She has, incidentally, been decorated for her courage and humanity by Israel but not by Germany, whose good name she has done so much to rescue). Why should the surviving heirs of those killed in the Holocaust be specifically compensated for losses shared by half of Europe?

Professor JOHN A DAVIS  
Cambridge

### Baffling bypass

Sir: How can a government supposedly committed to the concept of sustainable development contemplate building the Salisbury bypass, an 11-mile dual carriageway across one of the most environmentally sensitive areas of the country (report, 2 October)? It was the Prime Minister who said, in the foreword to the Government's environmental policy White Paper *This Common Inheritance*: "We must put a proper value on the natural world; it would be odd to cherish a Constable and not the landscape he depicted."

A D DEACON  
Salisbury

### Starting young

Sir: A copy of the Conservative Party's booklet *The World Says Life Is Better in Britain* was delivered to my door by a young girl less than 10 years old. Is this an example of the skills revolution that will transform our workforce to compete with the Far East?

BILL ONWUSAH  
London E15



## essay

# AD 2001: he's older and greyer, but he's still in power ...

The political odyssey continues. Against all expectations John Major won the 1997 general election. Tony Blair left Britain to take up a Yale professorship. Donald Macintyre charts the new Tory agenda as the party heads for its 25th year in government

It was 2001. The silver-haired John Major, now in sight of beating Margaret Thatcher's record of 11 years in office, had been looking back on the frenetic year of millennium celebrations. It was, he said in a pre-conference interview, a special pleasure that Saatchi's campaign to persuade the public to take up the National Lottery-funded offer of free IT training for all had been such a success. What better use of the Millennium Fund, now that the parties were over? Even the disappointment of Sir John Gummer, the distinctly green National Environmental Agency chairman, who had wanted to buy a rain-forest with the money, had been short-lived.

To the deep frustration of ambitious Tories who had written him off in the run-up to the 1997 election, Major was riding high. His role as doyen of European leaders had been gratifyingly enhanced by the stresses within the EU caused by the single currency. Riots over the past year in Rome and Paris and demands that Germany pull out of the EU, all testified to the good sense of his decision, after one of the longest hesitations in political history, to stay out of EMU.

And round him, as he reminded an appreciative Lord David Frost, Britain had been changing fast. The veteran interviewer could scarcely get a word in as the PM warmed to his theme of how he has made unemployment the lowest in the Western World. And after decades of Tory ministers denying that crime had anything to do with unemployment, Major boasted that the slow reduction in crime figures was directly related to the fall in the jobless total – though, of course, he preferred to use homely Tory language to do so. "The devil makes work for idle hands," he told Lord Frost, a little smugly.

It wasn't just that the job seeker's allowance, introduced back on the inauspicious eve of the 1996 Tory conference, had paid such unforeseen dividends. Off the dole queues had come three groups: those who had simply lost the will and confidence to work; those who had been vigorously functioning in the black economy while drawing the dole; and those who had made the calculation that if an unpleasant job gave them only £10 a week more than benefits, it wasn't worth having.

Nor was it that workfare had been such a success. It was that the workfare "graduates" had had their chances of getting permanent jobs dramatically improved by the new employment "green zones". On new industrial estates recruits signed a contract explicitly excluding them from all those tiresome and archaic provisions of the corporate state, such as protection from unfair dismissal. The wages were low; as everyone now knew, this was a first step towards the abolition of industrial tribunals and possibly the racial equality and equal opportunities commissions as well. The jobs, in many cases, were frighteningly insecure. But for those who worked hard and didn't complain, there was a chance of moving up the income scale.

Indeed, the green zones were part of an extensive programme of deregulation which had eluded the third- and fourth-term administrations. The whole system of industrial accident compensation and health and safety at work enforcement had been privatised. So, too, had the enforcement of building and fire regulations. Instead, it was left to insurance companies to ensure that factories, offices and housing projects were safe. Employers hadn't been too happy about this: the premiums added to non-wage costs, and to the annoyance of many bosses the insurance companies seemed even more zealous than their public servant predecessors. But given that they had been clamouring for further reductions in public spending, they couldn't complain too loudly.

Changes in education had been no less dramatic. The right, for example, of outside organisations – from churches and voluntary groups to educational entrepreneurs in league with local parents – to start new schools and then turn them into grant-maintained schools within the state system, had existed in the fourth term. What's more, Gillian Shephard had already removed the stipulation that new schools could not start when there were still vacant places in existing ones. But nothing much happened until the huge fifth-term change of accounting within the education system introduced in 1997. Under the system of capital charging – already operating in the NHS during the fourth term – schools would henceforth have budgets which took account of capital depreciation. And to borrow money for expansion or refurbishment they had to be able to meet the interest charges on the debt incurred. If they were popular, that was fine. But if they were weak schools, they would become weaker. Equally,

a new school could compete for funds on level terms, knowing that it would recover some of the capital costs of start-up if it succeeded.

There had been some problems, of course: the highly publicised collapse of some new schools. And the prospect of educational companies, some of them US-owned, taking over inner city sink comprehensives – and running them for profit with an income from the state which increased as its league table standing improved – was still strictly for the sixth term.

Major was now confident that he – or his successor as Tory leader – would win again. After all, with Labour split in two by the defeat, and Tony Blair now President of Yale University and Bill Clinton's most intimate and prominent adviser, how could he fail?

But with money following the pupil, an internal market was already generating a new energy in the education system. In some cases teachers had bought into the new freedom to form schools within schools – language and NVQ academies for example. Indeed, the fact that teachers had started to run their own institutions – often



PHOTOGRAPH BY MARK HANMAN

company which had taken over the Royal Mail, was waging a fierce price war with their rivals DHL, whose ugly but ubiquitous yellow letterboxes had become such a feature of the urban landscape.

There was much more, of course. Major was proud of the revival of local democracy now that he had ended capping and pinched from Labour the idea of annual council elections. The uniform business rate had been abolished, and a new, locally-decided rate introduced – directly relating the location of business investment to the efficiency of local authorities. In the North West, a pilot scheme in locally-raised sales taxes was under way.

There were problems, naturally. Major had resisted his friend Ian Lang's advice to set up a Scottish parliament and the Scottish National Party was growing daily in strength. Sir James Goldsmith, undaunted by the Referendum Party's indifferent showing in the 1997 election, had bought the newly privatised Channel Four and was now seeking to fight the next election on the hot protectionist issue of keeping imported programmes off digital and cable television. And the lifestyle sections of glossy magazines were filled with stories about the new generation of rich layabouts who didn't have to work at all because of the wholesale abolition of inheritance tax. But, all in all, there was plenty to be satisfied about. Having won not one but two elections against the odds, Major was, truly, the comeback kid.

Complete fantasy? At one level, no. There isn't an idea in this scenario which hasn't been considered by ministers and policy wonks with at least some access to the manifesto-making process. A good deal of it – privatisation of the Royal Mail and the London Underground – is a near certainty if Major were to win a fifth term. He apparently wants to abolish inheritance tax. And if he could widen the sources of school provision within the state sector, he would.

On another level, of course, it's just a dream – or nightmare, depending on your tastes. It deliberately assumes uniformly benign consequences for a range of utterly untested and potentially explosive policies. Freed of any obligation to appease a right wing which had in 1995 written off his chances of winning, he would – or should – be his own man. And even if that were not his instinct, which it is, Kenneth Clarke, also riding high as the architect of an election-winning budget, would be there to warn him against going too far. Clarke recently pointed out that Chile was a military dictatorship which had privatised its social insurance system.

Nevertheless, there's much in this fantasy that will keep the more zealous of the party representatives going in Bournemouth as they struggle to suspend their own disbelief that their party can win. If fantasising about a fifth term can't sustain them this week, what will?

## How the horse chestnut conkered Britain



Miles Kington

It is sometimes pointed out to the British that they have wonderful things growing wild which they completely ignore. We read about French chefs combing our woods for rare fungi. We see fishermen catching langoustines and spider crabs to be exported to places where they like eating these things better than we do. The Romans introduced the sweet chestnut tree into Britain 2,000 years ago, and we are still not particularly grateful for its fruit.

But there is one thing we harvest and use which the

continentals never harvest and use, and that is the fruit of the horse chestnut.

Yes, I mean conkers.

We, and we alone in the world, have devised a use for conkers. Nowhere else in the world do people drill holes in conkers, put string through, tie knots and then proceed to bash each other's conkers to bits.

I was once in France, in the Cognac region, at conker time, and the chestnut trees were disgorging showers of big, brown beautiful conkers, veined and marbled like repro furniture, as high as truffles. (Not those nasty little black things grubbed up unhygienically in the woods by specially trained pigs, but proper big British run truffles lying in their black paper nests on Thoroton's display shelves...)

I gathered a bag full of these shining French conkers, which were being totally ignored by all the schoolchildren of France, and took them back to my children in London. The French customs official who looked in my conker bag at the airport as I embarked for England was taken aback.

"Ooh, la, la – on les mange en Angleterre? Quelle cuisine!"

Incroyable! Here was a man who knew all about cooking but had never heard of the game of conkers. And here we British are at the conker season again, that brief period of the year when little boys throw sticks up at chestnut trees, when string disappears from kitchen drawers and when hot debates take place on the morality or otherwise of soaking conkers in vinegar, probably the only time that little boys ever take an interest in the properties of vinegar, except when they are discussing whether it should be sprinkled on the fish as well as the chips.

Some years I see no games of conkers being played at all, but it seems to be back with a bang this year, as although the blackberrying season is over, the lanes of Wiltshire are still full of people gathering. Indeed, my son's school was organising a conker competition this week, and I have been watching him practice the game for the first time, which means of course that I

have been drawn into it, and I had quite forgotten what a painful business it is. Every time you miss the other conker with your blow, which is what happens most times, your conker whistles tremendous speed and ends up cracking you on the knee, or forearm, or worse. Next year I must wear protective clothing. Children, of course, think that the violence is an added attraction.

My son, who is no fool and knows that nature is usually up to some trick, has also asked me what conkers are really for, and I have given him a guarded sex education talk about tree procreation, about the way some trees spread their seed by using the wind, some depend on birds for carrying the seeds to a distance, and some use, well, other methods.

"How far do conkers spread chestnut trees?" he asked, and I had to admit that conkers cannot fly and don't bounce very well, and nobody thinks they are edible and worth picking, so they do not travel very far, but I have been thinking about it since and it has suddenly occurred

to me that the horse chestnut is the only tree that is smart enough to propagate itself through a children's game and therefore gets its fruit taken further than any other tree. As obediently as a blackbird taking yew berries, or the wind taking lime tree seeds, little boys take away loads of conkers. Some are used for games of conkers, and cracked, and ruined, but from my own observation most conkers are discarded through boredom and are therefore, with luck, transported several miles to start life again as a new tree.

In my case, don't forget, I once transported a bag of conkers several hundred miles from the Cognac area of France to central London. By any other standard it was an idiotic thing to do. But seen as an example of tree propagation, it is a hindling success story. At the time, of course, I imagined I was just taking home some conkers for the children. Now, I realise, I was merely a helpless victim of evolution, a hapless tool in the hands of nature's blind urge to procreate. It makes a chap feel humble, somehow.

OR get up to £35,000

home contents cover with

no complicated

calculations.

Interested? Call

0800 333 800



Phone for a free home insurance quote weekdays 9am-5pm, Saturday 9am-2pm. We regret that we are unable to quote for rented unfurnished accommodation.



## Nato should have good news for Alexander Lebed

You cannot help liking the growing maverick Alexander Lebed, Russia's national security supremo. Yesterday Russia's rumbling loose cannon arrived at Nato's Brussels headquarters – his first visit to the lair of the Western alliance which, as a former Russian general, he was brought up to fear and distrust. In the past few weeks he has sounded dire warnings about the state of the vast but crumbling Russian military machine, and about the dire consequences if Nato proceeds with its plans to expand to the east, ranging from firing a salvo of missiles – albeit "rusty" ones – to cutting off trade with Germany and the US.

The irony is that there are a lot of people in Nato who sympathise with Lebed's publicly expressed view that Nato should not expand to the east. After all, getting 16 nations to agree on anything is difficult enough; more members mean more problems. And the Nato security guarantee is a pretty Draconian commitment. If Poland joins Nato, and then finds itself at war with Ukraine, which may be hacked by Russia, Nato could find itself dragged into something very nasty indeed. There is a hidden purpose behind Mr Lebed's visit – a quiet and unstated collusion between Russia and Nato, giving new and real force to the coded phrase "16 plus one". Nato and Russia.

The Russian statements against Nato "expansion" were all for home consumption. At the weekend, Mr Lebed looked forward to a "complicated but civilised dialogue" with Nato. Privately, there was none of the tub-thumping polemic associated with his public appearances, which has more to do with his position as heir-apparent to Boris Yeltsin than with his current position. He has less influence on Russian policy towards Nato than he likes to make out, and has no mandate to negotiate on Nato expansion. Russia's foreign minister, Yevgeny Primakov, calls the shots, and he has made it clear that he does not want the issue of Nato expansion to threaten the co-operation between Russia and the West, which Russia desperately needs if it is to enjoy the prosperity it feels it deserves.

All the talk of Nato "expansion" is a little misleading. Nato does not particularly want to expand. The newly democratic and free states of eastern Europe want to join, and have been hammering on the door. The three leading candidates – Poland, the Czech Republic and Hungary – are likely to be invited to join in May, and are expected to enter the alliance on its 50th anniversary, in April 1999.

Russia's worries are understandable, even well-founded. For more than 200 years Russia and the Soviet Union approached security in a remarkably consistent fashion: push the potential "enemy" further and further away, so that space could be traded for time. The tears had Poland, Russia's "sword arm, sticking out into Europe", as Karl Marx described it. Beginning with the annexation of the Baltic



Christopher Bellamy

The West has little to gain, and much to lose, in expanding eastwards

states in 1940 and continuing with an unexpected bonanza – the victorious sweep of the Red Army to Berlin – the Soviet Union re-established a cordon sanitaire of client states stretching as far as the Elbe. Among the keenest applicants to join Nato are the three Baltic states – Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania. Nato – including Britain – has been training the Baltics' armed forces to bring them up to "Nato standards". But although, proportionally speaking, the investment in the Baltics has been greater than elsewhere, they are not in the front rank for joining Nato in 1999. The reason is obvious. They abut on to Russia's heartland, and were the Soviet Union's gateway to the sea. Private discussions between Mr Lebed and Nato's Secretary General, Javier Solana, are likely to sketch out a deal. "Yes, take Poland, Hungary and the Czech Republic if you want to, but leave the Baltics".

That has attractions for Nato. The litany has been consistent: "Nato membership also brings obligations. It involves not only receiving security but also contributing to it." On the far side of the Baltic, up against Russia, the Baltics will absorb a lot of security but not offer much in return. Poland, the Czech Republic and Hungary are different. Central European, even liberal by tradition, they are obvious candidates for membership not only of Nato but also the EU – for which they are also front-runners. From Nato's point of view, they have also offered a disproportionate contribution to the art of war in recent centuries: individual Poles fighting with the Allies played a distinguished role in the Allied effort in the last world war. The Czechs built brilliant tanks – later adopted by the Germans. And think of the Bren gun – the Bren-Enfield: a Czech design, adopted with great success by the British. Attending joint Polish-British manoeuvres the other week, one could not fail to sense the affinity between them.

The exercises have a practical purpose: to test whether eastern European countries can work with Nato as part of a military alliance. Privately, Nato generals doubt whether the difficulties in command, control and communications will be overcome sufficiently by 1999. The joint exercises so far have concentrated on less demanding tasks: peacekeeping, search and rescue, humanitarian aid. They have also been doing it for real, in Bosnia.

But Russia, too, has been working with Nato in Bosnia – very successfully, with a 1,200-strong Russian brigade working under the control of the US-led division in Tuzla. Nato expansion, and a special relationship between Nato and Russia, already exist. It is one area where reality is well in advance of the theory.

Perhaps this is the key. Practice is more important than theory. The benefits of expanding Nato are slight, if that. The disadvantages are obvious and real. Lebed should be sent back to Russia with assurances that Nato will not be knocking on his door.

## Is this the man to say 'No, minister'?

by David Walker

Sir Gordon Downey is a citizen beyond suspicion. He belongs to that elevated class, most of them former civil servants or judges, who have already got their Ks, which means they ought to be able to risk offending the powers that dispense gongs. They usually have their pensions, so there should be no financial incentives to be craven.

They also have another characteristic. They often lack personality – as the modern world tends to define it. Sir Gordon, say his friends, is an amusing bloke, but his public demeanour is grey; he does not play to the cameras and avoids the cut and thrust of debate.

Some might think that a virtue. But what if he now finds himself in a situation where what the public interest demands is voice, nifty footwork, maybe even a willingness to scream? The Parliamentary Commission for Standards may have to shout loud enough to tell John Major that he is not going to get a reliable report inside three months let alone three weeks, to tell Sir Robin Butler, the Cabinet Secretary, that he needs two or more of the sharpest brains Whitehall can offer to help him wade through the mound of documents produced by the Hamilton affair, to tell Sir Geoffrey Johnson-Smith of the Procedures Committee that he needs crystal-clear terms of reference now and, even more important, a copper-bottom guarantee that the report is produced his way.

If Sir Gordon Downey plays true to form he may opt for silence. But going "nifty" about his "stating" about his task, about the very nature of the MPs' committee employing him could diminish his crucial role.

It is hard to hear ill of Sir Gordon as a man or a husband (his wife, now retired, has worked in both the state and private sectors as a teacher) and a father. His daughter is a solicitor who recently had a child and his son works for IBM. His career is – in Whitehall terms – not quite top rank but pretty distinguished none the less. He entered the Treasury in the Fifties and rose to the rank of deputy secretary, in the years when the Treasury thought it could (and did) manage a full-employment economy and do such forgotten things as industrial policy. In the Whitehall way he was tipped off that he would not make it to the top there, though a permanent sec-



Sir Gordon Downey may find himself in a situation where the public interest demands nifty footwork and a willingness to scream

retaryship might come his way in a spending department.

Instead, after a spell in the Central Policy Review Staff, he walked into a job he had himself helped to create. He became Comptroller and Auditor General (C&AG), the public's chief financial watchdog, and head of the National Audit Office. On leaving the NAO in 1987, Sir Gordon went to Ernst and Young accountants, then to the City, becoming first chairman of Fimbra (the Financial Intermediaries, Managers and Brokers Regulatory Association) and then of the Personal

Investment Authority. Voices were to be heard criticising his capacity to keep up with a fast-changing scene; others say he did move swiftly, for example to displace with Fimbra's first chief executive. Sir Gordon has also acted as the readers' representative on *The Independent*.

The date Sir Gordon left the civil service is important if you believe – as many top officials of his generation do – that under Mrs Thatcher things ethical started to go awry. It was that year that she sacked the head of the civil service, Sir Ian Bancroft. Since then Lord Ban-

croft has pushed the idea that civil servants are "ballast in the constitution"; they serve an interest higher than any individual set of government ministers. This means that confronted with wrongdoing they should be trusted to blow the whistle. The official theory remains that set out by Mrs Thatcher's replacement civil service head, Lord Armstrong, that civil servants obey their ministers enthusiastically and with no nonsense about higher obligations to the Crown or the public interest.

"Civil servants of our gener-

ation," said a contemporary of Sir Gordon yesterday, "can be relied upon for moral courage – which means saying no to ministers, or MPs if it comes to that. He is not going suddenly to turn round and become a wobbly jelly."

Independence of mind comes with the civil service job, as it was. In Sir Gordon's case this has been buttressed by his service as C&AG, a key role which involves blowing the whistle on permanent secretaries who have done their sums wrong or assisting them if they are minded to blow the whistle on ministers for mis-spending public money.

Sir Gordon was headhunted for the job of Commissioner of Parliamentary Standards. A cynic might say that, alongside all his formal qualifications, he was a parliamentary insider. As a former C&AG, he knows how the House of Commons works. For example, he knows how few MPs ever turn up to the debates on Public Accounts Committee reports, let alone how many of them ever bother to read its studies of departments and quangos and their spending – but he would never dream of making a public speech labelling the House of Commons as a hopeless monster of the 15th or more of spending it votes each year.

"Sir Gordon," said a friend yesterday, who himself knows a thing or two about that semi-private world of accounting and auditing of public money, "is a quiet operator." Sir Gordon himself says that as C&AG he was prepared to make a racket. Asked if he would have played the game had he been prepared to keep a lid on an embarrassing revelation, he replied: "I wouldn't have stood for it." Though he doesn't expect that kind of pressure now, he notes that he is, officially at least, retired and so not beholden to anyone for his integrity.

No one questions his personal probity. But does he have the wily political skills that would, for example, keep him out of the various traps set for Sir Richard Scott in his arms to Iraq inquiry?

For all the alleged radicalism of the Thatcher years, Britain is still run by chaps who trust other chaps. In such a world making a stink, calling the television cameras in, exposing MPs to further ridicule and embarrassment would take a most unconvincing willingness to hold Parliament up to damaging criticism. Little in his career to date suggests that Sir Gordon would relish such a public scrap.

## So what if politics isn't sexy?

The BBC is right to give parties huge coverage, says Samir Shah

Is there too much political coverage on television and radio? Many think so. And the finger of guilt points most accusingly at the BBC. The view of David Walker, in *The Independent* last week, and other commentators, seems to be that the hot-house of Westminster and its self-referential denizens should be left to rot in their own square mile and be stopped from boring the pants off the watching and listening millions.

Underpinning this conclusion is the idea that politicians are a venal lot, conforming increasingly to Disraeli's description of a politician's career as one of "plundering and blundering", that not only is there too much politics broadcast but that what we see and hear is arcane and of interest only to those who belong to the Westminster club; so why bother to report their comings and goings so much?

There is some truth in all of this. The reaction of some of our competitors has been to throw in the towel – restrict coverage to the absolute minimum and fill the space with more "human interest" journalism – a euphemism for a diet of stories about sex, crime and foreign violence.

The BBC, though, is playing a bigger game. Our covenant with the British people, founded on the licence fee, is that we shall not take the easy route. We will continue to strike out on our own: distinctive, different and committed not only to entertain but to inform and educate, too.

This means a commitment to democracy and public accountability. Whatever we may think of our politicians, they wield real power over us – determining how much of the money we earn we can keep; the kind of schools we send our children to; the level of treatment we get in our hospitals. Global forces may well signal the end of the nation state and its politicians but, right now, politicians matter. They can do us what Philip Larkin ascribed to our mothers and fathers. As a result, it is our duty to report and analyse what they say and do.

But do we need quite so much politics on air? The point is that we have different programmes of different channels, each tailored to suit the needs of particular audiences and their tastes. To those jaded by the sheer volume of what we do, I would



echo the words of Tom Paine: "Those who expect to reap the blessing of freedom must undergo the fatigue of supporting it."

There is some truth in the criticisms of our political coverage. But the annual cry over numbers at party conferences is inaccurate and often misleading. The total number of more than 400 being bandied about is a spurious one: artificially bumped up by counting technical staff who are needed to rig and do-rig the equipment; and by adding together all the journalists, accredited, many of whom are there for only short periods. The result is that actual numbers on any given day are less than half the grand total. However, it is clear that new technology and new ways of working will enable us to cut down on numbers.

The charge that we are too concerned with the Westminster hot-house and that our discourse is too recondite also has some merit. We have gathered information from focus groups of "ordinary people" to help improve our understanding of the problem. Language is a key factor. But here there are real difficulties: many people did not understand the meaning of commonly used words, such as *Chief Whip*. In a world of sleaze and scandal, such a job title might be vulnerable to serious misinterpretation.

But what practical steps can we take to address the language problem? Constant definitions in the middle of a news package would soon irritate many viewers and listeners. And yet it is a problem that requires urgent solution.

Another common criticism is that "politics is boring". I suspect that people are not uninterested in politics but are tired of the litanies within which it is so often discussed: the ritualised hostility, the lack of connection to their daily lives, the preoccupation with the messengers rather than the messages, the soundbite culture. These are real problems and not that easy to solve.

Making better the connection between what happens in Westminster and people's lives will help to make our coverage more relevant and watchable. Equally, we need to examine whether we spend too much of our time and money addressing the same groups of people.

For example, we are pretty good at reaching certain groups (predictably the better-off, older, middle classes) and less good with other groups, for example, (equally predictably), young people. Now, it may be that young people are simply not interested in politics. But millions of 18- to 25-year-olds will be voting for the first time in the general election and their day-to-day lives will be transformed by whichever party wins power. It is our duty to try to reach them. It cannot be right simply to say they are not interested and leave them to their soaps, music shows and late-night comedies. We need to experiment and innovate to find ways of making politics accessible to more people.

The BBC plays a key role in defining what it means to live in a democracy. Under fire for that, how and the volume of our coverage, we shall not throw in the towel as others have done. We may well adjust the balance of how much we do for different groups of viewers and listeners to reach as wide an audience as possible, but we shall continue to analyse the forces that are shaping their lives. And to give people the information to exercise their democratic right to change things.

The writer is head of political programmes, BBC.

## Remember the houses of evil

Gloucester City Council's communications director was po-faced about it: "It was the council's decision that the interests of the city would not be served by 25 Cromwell Street remaining standing". Accordingly, demolition began yesterday, and the house will not only be torn down but every brick will be pulverised, every fitting melted down, every timber reduced to ash, and the cleared site covered by a thick concrete plug, as if it were full of nuclear waste.

It's obvious: the continued existence of Fred and Rose West's old home would be bad for Gloucester's image; attract the wrong sort of sightseers; remind all and sundry of an episode best firmly put behind us. Concerns about presentation and public relations may be invoked, but the urge is ancient and thoroughly English, preserved in such maxims as "out of sight, out of mind", "least said, soonest mended". In Dunblane, where the gym is to be demolished, a similar impulse is at work.

With respect, it won't work. Ten Rillington Place, where John Christie murdered at least six women in the Forties and Fifties, had its name changed and then in the 1970s was demolished. But it still attracts the curious, thanks to the *Murder Guide to Britain*, which pinpoints its location. Years after demolition, someone painted REMEMBER CHRISTIE in large red letters near the site. If the reverberation of a

crime in the popular mind is sufficiently strong, demolition and name-changing will not still it; on the contrary, a gaping, empty lot will only serve to suck in the prurient and ghoulish, imaginations working overtime. Walking tours of the East End attempt to retrace the steps of Jack the Ripper, and the fact that nothing remains as it was (Room 13, Miller's Court, where his fifth and final victim died, is under a car park near Spitalfields market) makes the experience more spooky rather than less.

Other sites of famous crimes, left alone, succeed in reverting to normality of a sort. The house in Cranley Gardens, north London, where Dennis Nilsen

disembowed 16 young men, was later converted into flats and re-sold. Sonia Sutcliffe bought back the house she had been forced to sell to pay compensation to her husband's victims, remarking, "It's not a house of horrors, but a very nice home."

The Wests' house should have been left standing to acquaint the curious with the banality of evil. Places like the London Dungeon try to abstract evil from its human context and re-package it as entertainment. The result is tawdry and horrible. But evil is all around us, and never separable from human suffering. Left standing, 25 Cromwell Street would have been a useful reminder of that.

Peter Popham

"Since a friend introduced me to Rukba my life has been much less of a worry"

Rukba is unique among charities for the elderly. Our financial help assists people to stay in their own homes, and we have an 800 strong home-visiting volunteer force of helpers. They listen to the problems and offer friendship. If you would like more information about our work, please complete the coupon below or telephone 0345 58 56 80 (local call rates apply).

Please send me more information

Name

Address

Postcode

Please send to: William Rarbone, Dept 10, Rukba, FREEPOST, 6 Avonmore Road, London W14 5BR

**Rukba**  
Helping elderly people stay independent  
The Royal United Kingdom Beneficent Association. Reg. Charity No. 210729





# Everything. Everywhere.

## NOKIA 9000

As soon as you open the new Nokia 9000 Communicator, new and almost unbelievable possibilities emerge. Who could fail to be impressed by the first ever GSM mobile phone and palmtop computer to be combined in one slim, portable and highly desirable package? Its capabilities are simply astonishing. Call up a name and number from the integral address book and Personal Organiser, then fax a note or send an e-mail while you're still on the move. Quietly browse the Internet, set the flexible messaging system to field your calls while you're in a meeting...or simply make a phone call. Amazingly, all with one pocketable lightweight device you can carry everywhere. The new Nokia 9000 Communicator. So simple to use, it makes the mobile office a reality. Call 0990 002110 today for a brochure.

**NOKIA**  
CONNECTING PEOPLE

Nokia and the Nokia symbol are registered trademarks.
<http://www.nokia.com>

هكذا من الأهل



9571 11/10/96

Hamish McRae: Rates could be Brown's problem 28  
Market report: Clothes retailers back in vogue 26  
Investment: Smarter fashions suit Moss Bros 27

# Banks get half of Tunnel in £4.7bn debt swap

**MICHAEL HARRISON**

Eurotunnel is to swap just over half its £8.7bn debt mountain for shares and other paper in a deal which will give its banks immediate ownership of just under half the Channel Tunnel and put its finances on an even keel for the first time in nearly a decade.

The complex deal, thrashed out by Eurotunnel and a key steering group of six lenders, will see £4.7bn of debt exchanged for equity and other financial instruments and the banks take a 45.5 per cent stake in the business.

Depending on Eurotunnel's performance over the next seven years, the banks could increase their stake to 60 per cent although the company's 750,000 shareholders will have the option to subscribe for enough shares to retain control.

The announcement of the debt restructuring package paves the way for Eurotunnel shares, suspended a week ago at 11.5p, to resume trading this morning. Brokers were last night predicting that the shares would rise initially to nearer 130p - the price at which the first tranche of debt will be swapped.

Provided the deal is approved by Eurotunnel's shareholders and ratified by the 225 members of the banking syndicate, the company will see its annual interest payments cut from £650m to £400m a year and its average interest charge fall to 5.2 per cent.

However, the company will not have enough spare cash to pay even this lower interest charge until sometime in the next century so it is effectively taking an interest holiday on a portion of the debt until 2006.

Sir Alastair Morton, the outgoing co-chairman of Euro-

tunnel, described the accord as "fair and robust" and said he was confident that shareholders and banks alike would accept the deal.

"They have from now until next spring to sit down and judge this compromise. I hope they will be convinced, I think they will," he said.

Referring to the possibility that smaller banks in the syndicate will hold out for a better deal, Sir Alastair added: "Nobody wants a collapse and nobody is looking for a Doomsday scenario. If that happens because of a few blackmail-

ers or exchange for shares in which case existing shareholders would see their holdings diluted to just under 40 per cent of the equity.

A further £1.5bn of debt will be exchanged for bonds paying a 6.25 per cent coupon until 2003 and the remaining £1.2bn of debt will be swapped for loan notes which will initially pay fixed interest of 1 per cent and are redeemable by 2040.

The key component of the deal will be Eurotunnel's ability to pay some of the interest it owes in the form of stabilisation notes which themselves will not bear any interest until 2006. Eurotunnel has the authority to issue up to £1.85bn worth of these notes.

In this way Eurotunnel effectively avoids paying compound interest on its debts for the next decade by which time the company expects it will comfortably be able to meet its debt service obligations and more. "It is the compound interest that kills you and this deal puts a cap on that," Sir Alastair said.

The conversion price for the first £1bn of debt and the stabilisation notes will be 130p. The equity notes will be converted at a price of 150p a share.

Alternatively, Eurotunnel can redeem a portion of them from the proceeds of a free warrant issue giving existing shareholders the right to subscribe for new shares at 150p.

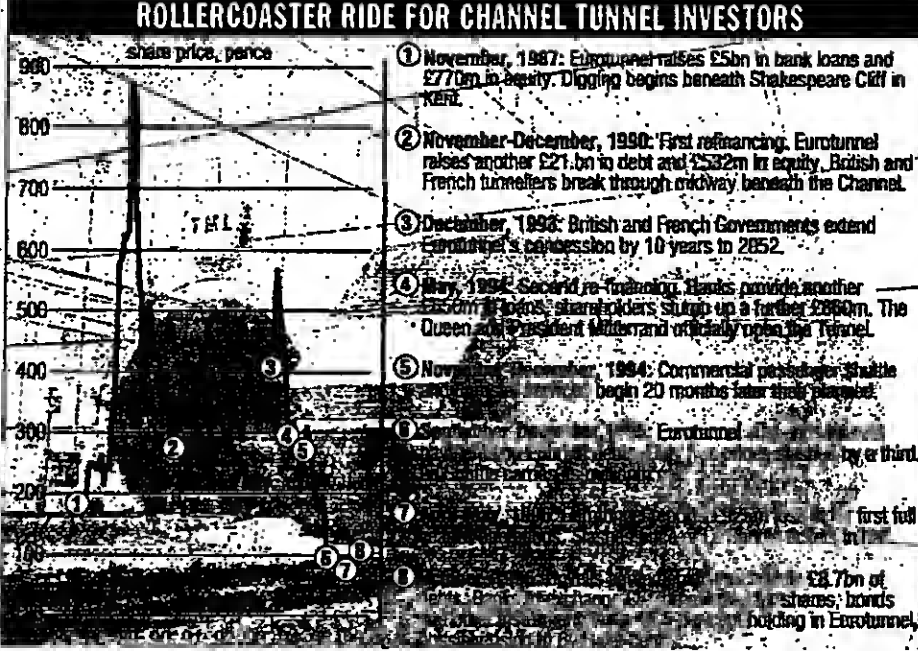
Of Eurotunnel's 750,000 shareholders, 61 per cent are French while 68 per cent of its equity is held by individuals rather than institutions. Two thirds of French shareholders need to vote in favour of the deal at an extraordinary meeting intended by those holding at least 25 per cent of the equity.

Comment, page 25

**Sir Alastair: 'Nobody wants a collapse and nobody is looking for a Doomsday scenario'**



Sir Alastair Morton, announcing details yesterday of the 'fair and robust' accord





## business

# Price war sparked by new BT rates

MATHEW HORSMAN

A price war in the long-distance telephone market looked set to erupt last night as Energis, the telecoms provider owned by the National Grid, slashed its prices for business calls to the US to just 10p, which is 50 per cent lower than BT's basic rate.

The move coincided with a promise from Telewest, the country's largest cable operator, that its customers would pay less than BT rates on every equivalent phone bill.

The price war was seen last night as a response to BT's lower rates, effective today, which were mandated by OfTel, the telecoms regulator.

Sam Howe, Telewest's vice-president of residential services, said: "Despite the hype and the millions of pounds BT has spent in the press and on the TV, their price reductions are being introduced at OfTel's instruction. Our position is simple, we'll keep our promise - every bill is cheaper."

Energis customers spending £150 a month per location on national and international calls will be required to register with the company to be eligible for the cheap US offer.

Energis is also offering lower prices to Australia, Japan and other countries in the Far East. Daytime calls to these regions would cost at least 24 per cent less than BT's basic rate, the company said.

Anticipating BT's lower rates, a range of smaller, specialised telecoms operators also vowed to undercut the prices charged by the market leader. Swifcall, one of many "call-back" services which set prices on the basis of the difference between outgoing and incoming international calls, said it would match the 10p offer from Energis. Meanwhile, rerouting ser-

vices such as Teleefficiency said last night they would continue to offer prices at least 15 per cent lower than BT's long-distance rates.

BT said it was "relaxed" about the announcements. "This just goes to show that competition is alive and well in the UK," a BT spokesman said. "Everyone knows that BT is reducing its prices [today] and so the market is responding."

But BT threw down a challenge, saying the 10p US offer was "just one price among many from Energis." The spokesman said: "We believe that, across the board, BT is still offering a competitive package."

Prices, particularly in the long-distance market, are set to fall even further as BT adjusts to the lower price base set by OfTel. It is expected to have to slash prices in real terms by 7 per cent, and BT said yesterday the long-distance market was bound to see "significant further reductions".

BT already operates a range of discount schemes. It said that large users already got deep discounts on international calls.

Energis, which built its fibre-optic national network in just two years, along existing rights of way used for its electricity infrastructure, said it aimed to keep the pressure on BT in coming months. Claiming it has the most modern network in the world, Energis's chief executive, Mike Gardiner, said:

"It's the efficiencies of that technological lead which has given us price advantages in the UK, and we intend to maintain that position to provide competitive benefits in the future." Energis supplies major corporate clients such as British Gas, ICL and Boots. It has earmarked the medium-sized business sector for some of its future growth.



## Paddington Bear seeks new home

The television rights to Paddington Bear, worth as much as \$10m, are up for sale, with a leading Canadian television producer the most likely buyer, writes Mathew Horsman.

The rights, bought for £1.5m just seven years ago by Caspian, the media company that now owns Leeds United, have attracted a bid from Cinar, the Montreal-based maker of children's programmes.

Advisers to the two sides are

in late-stage negotiations, and it is thought likely that the principals will have face-to-face meetings at Mipcom, the annual TV sales shindig, now under way in Cannes, France.

The deal, if it goes ahead, will mark a further explosion in the value of lucrative rights

to revered children's characters. The rights to Sooty were sold earlier this year to a group led by Guinness Mahon, the merchant bank.

Caspian declined to comment on the talks, but conceded publicly that discussions were under way.

Cinar's chief executive, Ron Weinberg, did not return calls.

The sale of the rights to Paddington Bear, the fictional creation of Michael Bond (pictured with his wife, Brenda, above), follows a strategic decision by Caspian to concentrate on its core media and sport rights, sources close to the company said yesterday.

"The company took the view that it should either increase its investment in this kind of business or sell it off," one source said.

### IN BRIEF

• Rebel Lloyd's names said that letters sent last week by the insurance market's debt collectors were "deliberately intended to intimidate" and also ignored large sums owed by Lloyd's to its members. Christopher Stockwell, chairman of the Lloyd's Names Associations' Working Party, called the market's debt collecting activities incompetent. Lloyd's is on the point of issuing writs to about 200 names, demanding they pay their debts.

• Korean electronics giant Hyundai is to invest almost £1bn in Scotland, creating 700 jobs, it was confirmed yesterday. The South Korean company will build two plants to produce semi-conductors at Halbeath, Dumfrieshire. Fife. Hyundai will invest £900m in the region, marking the culmination of years of diplomatic efforts by the British Embassy in the Korean capital, Seoul. The embassy had been cultivating Hyundai for several years when the company approached diplomats with the proposal to build semi-conductor production plants late last year.

• Burford, the property company, is to spin off its 25 per cent owned associate Grantchester as a separately quoted retail warehouse investment company. Following listing, Grantchester will have net assets of £63.4m. Burford shareholders, who have already seen the Trocadero spun off from their company onto the Alternative Investment Market, will receive one Grantchester share for every 13 Burford shares they hold.

• Banking supervisors from 140 countries have endorsed a move to overcome bank secrecy laws, which can impede regulatory efforts, and have agreed to make efforts to amend conflicting legislation by October 1998. The move is part of a wider plan to strengthen the effectiveness of banking supervision outlined in a paper published yesterday which contains 29 recommendations for improvement. The paper has been published by the Basle Committee on Banking Supervision, the central bankers' bank for developed countries, and has been signed by the Offshore Group of Banking Supervisors, which comprises regulators from financial centres such as the Cayman Islands and the Bahamas, as well as other countries which are not members of either body.

• Rolls-Royce said it planned to sell Bristol Aerospace Limited. Bristol employs 960 people and specialises in the repair and overhaul of fixed- and rotary-wing aircraft and the manufacture of aero-engine and aircraft components for Rolls-Royce and other manufacturers. It also produces missiles and rockets for military and space applications. Rolls Royce said the company's products had moved away from what it sees as its core business. Separately, Cooper Rolls, a joint venture between Cooper Cameron Corp and Rolls-Royce, said it had received orders worth more than \$100m for 10 new gas turbines and for the retrofit of four units.

• United Utilities is selling its process equipment division for about £125m in cash and shares to United States Filter Corp. For the year-end March 1996 the division had revenue of £172m. "Although the process division no longer fits with our strategy of focusing on our core utility activities, we are confident that the process businesses will make a significant and growing contribution to US Filters' worldwide operation," said Brian Staples, chief executive of United Utilities.

• Moss Bros, the menswear retailer, saw first-half profits jump by 54 per cent to £4.5m, boosted by strong suit sales and a good performance from the Moss Bros rentals business. The managing director, Rowland Gee, said "black tie" hires had been good during the wedding season with encouraging forecasts for corporate entertaining in the run-up to Christmas.

Investment Column, page 27

• Almost 10,000 businesses failed in the third quarter of 1996, according to business information analysts Dun and Bradstreet. Shadow small business minister, Barbara Roche, said she would be discussing the issue with Angela Knight, the economic secretary to the Treasury.

• Companies may have to report the cost of long-term incentive plans for directors over the period the plans operate rather than when they mature, according to proposals by the Urgent Issues Task Force of the Accounting Standards Board.

## London Clearing House to expand

JILL TREANOR  
Banking Correspondent

The London Clearing House (LCH) will be looking at opportunities for extending its clearing services in other markets after new owners take control later this week, its chief executive said yesterday.

"I'm sure the new board will want to have a look at that early on... we've got to see if there is anything else that could be done with the business, which

could benefit those people who have just bought it," said David Hardy, chief executive of the LCH.

"There are likely to be a number of initiatives around but clearly we don't want to go around treading on other people's toes," he said.

The LCH is broadening its present narrow ownership base of Barclays, Lloyds, Midland, NatWest, Standard Chartered and Bank of Scotland to include the 126 other clearing

members of London's futures exchanges. They will be paying just under £500,000 apiece for their stakes in the LCH.

The main futures exchanges, the London International Financial Futures and Options Exchange (LIFFE), the London Metal Exchange (LME) and the London Petroleum exchange, will also become shareholders with a combined stake of 25 per cent.

The new clearing members will contribute to a special

£150m default fund to be backed by a three-year insurance policy, providing an additional £100m worth of cover.

The LCH first suggested the alterations to its structure in June. Some 33 members have declined to accept the new structure.

The new structure will give a closer focus on other markets such as "swaps", arranged privately between firms, and not on any recognised exchange.

## TI seals expansion of its polymer side with cash offer for Forsheda

TOM STEVENSON  
City Editor

TI doubled the size of its polymer engineering business yesterday with a £189m recommended cash offer for Forsheda, a Swedish sealing systems business. The deal is the latest in a series of "bolt-on" acquisitions the diversified engineering group has used to expand its three core businesses of fluid carrying, engineering seals and aircraft landing gear.

Sir Christopher Lewington, chairman, said: "Bringing together Forsheda, a major bolt-on, and our current polymer business will create a £300m turnover operation with world leadership potential. Forsheda's product ranges are entirely complementary to our own and TI's international strengths will enable their rapid globalisation."

The acquisition of Forsheda marks a continuation of the transformation of TI over the past 10 years from a loose consumer-based business to one of Britain's few globally competitive engineering businesses. The shares, which have risen from a low of 33p at the beginning of last year, added 2p to 57p yesterday.

Forsheda, which employs 1,250 at 18 locations in 13 countries, is recognised as a leading maker of high technology poly-

mer sealing products for a range of industrial applications, the motor and defence industries. More than 80 per cent of its sales are in Europe and it has a growing North American business.

Sir Christopher added: "So far this year we have invested some £240m in bolt-on acquisitions. All of these are in line with our declared strategy and will accelerate organic growth in key business areas and enhance earnings in 1997."

TI secured agreement to accept the offer from Forsheda's controlling shareholder, Agora Group, by pitching a higher offer at Agora's higher voting A shares, which give it 21 per cent of the equity but 64 per cent of

the company's votes. In return for a 10 per cent premium for its shares, Agora agreed not to compete with TI for two years.

In the year to December 1995, Forsheda had turnover of £134.6m from which it made pre-tax profits of £21.6m. At the year-end it had net assets of £51.9m. TI said yesterday it planned to accelerate Forsheda's growth, developing its world leadership in concrete pipe seals for the construction industry, its plastic pipe seals business and its Rotary seals and "O" rings which complement existing TI operations.

TI's Polymer Engineering business operates in seven countries. It had sales in 1995 of £140m.

## Chrysalis gets new managing director

MATHEW HORSMAN  
Media Editor

Chris Wright has finally met City demands for a managing director at his Chrysalis media group by appointing Philip McDanell. The appointment, announced yesterday and effective immediately, comes just days after Sir David Pultnam, the celebrated film producer, quit as chairman of the recording and television company, citing, in part, Mr Wright's failure to appoint a managing director.

Mr McDanell, 44, who left MTV Europe a month ago following a four-year career as financial controller of the music station, said he accepted the job once Mr Wright, who also owns Queens Park Rangers football club, assured him he would remain executive chairman. "Chris wants to be involved in the business and get on with attracting talent," Mr McDanell said. "I am there to handle the day-to-day business."

MTV Europe has struggled in the past two years, as it has expanded on the Continent and overseas. Mr McDanell is

thought to have been approached by Mr Wright a year ago, but had elected to stay on to work on improving the company's prospects.

Chrysalis is one of the leading independent television producers in the UK, and has a significant group of recording labels. But the company, which is majority owned by Mr Wright, has frustrated some institutional investors because it has not created a sustainable earnings flow. It also surprised the City last month by pulling out of the feature film business.

Mr Wright, speaking from Cannes, said: "I was looking to bring someone in on the finance and administrative side, rather than a creative person. I was worried that someone from the creative side wouldn't get along with the people running the divisions."

Mr McDanell is a certified accountant and has worked for 15 years in the media. He joins Chrysalis on a two-year contract, with a year's notice period, and will be paid what the company called a "competitive" package that will include stock options.

**TODAY,  
BT CUT THEIR  
BUSINESS PRICES.  
TO SAVE EVEN  
MORE, CALL US.**

Today you can save up to 25% on international calls with BT. Or up to 48% with Mercury's GlobalLink package for businesses. Yes, we're still 48% cheaper for a 3 minute call to the States during weekday working hours. Shouldn't you find out more?

It doesn't cost anything to talk. FreeCall 0500 800 125.

**MERCURY**

**It doesn't cost anything to talk  
FreeCall 0500 800 125**

Prices and savings compared against BT's basic rate. Rates in force, weekdays. Call are subject to a minimum charge of 4p. GlobalLink savings are available for a subscription fee of £7.50 per quarter. All prices quoted ex VAT.

WE DON'T DO PEPS BUT WE DO DO A RATHER NICE CHARDONNAY

MERCURY WIRELESS COMPANY. FREECALL 0171 312 5000 OR 0161 839 0660. SOUTH AFRICAN AIRWAYS

SAA





## COMMENT

'Fed a diet of wildly misleading promises for the past decade, French shareholders are going to assume the worst'

## Eurotunnel deal is still far from being done

Most of the techniques being employed in Eurotunnel's refinancing package have in some shape or form been used before – those who follow the detail of these things will recognise them in EuroDisney, Hertz, Isosceles and other famous corporate rescues of recent years. But never before have so many different tools been bolted together to produce such a complex whole. Here's a taste. There are equity notes, participating loan notes, resettable bonds. There are "obligations remboursables en actions" and perhaps best of all there are stabilisation notes, which seem to be a licence for Eurotunnel to print its own money.

When all this may have been the fairest and only acceptable way of constructing the package, it could also pose a serious obstacle to selling the deal to Eurotunnel's mainly French shareholders, who must approve the rescue plan by a two-thirds majority. Shareholders are left with an initial 54.5 per cent of the company, reducing to 39.4 per cent after seven years unless the company performs tremendously well, and slipping further to 24.5 per cent three years later.

In between these widely different figures is an infinite number of possibilities, depending on the company's revenues, its share price and decisions that cannot be made for several years into the future. Analysts paint a not unduly pessimistic picture of the outcome. Initial impressions are that shareholders will certainly be diluted to around 40 per cent but would not sink to the low-

est figure unless everything goes horribly wrong.

More questionable is whether French shareholders are going to spend time on the subtle calculations required to assess whether the worst case is the likeliest, or whether some intermediary result is a more plausible. Fed a diet of wildly misleading promises for the past decade, they are going to assume the worst, and see this deal as leaving them with only a quarter of the company.

So they can be expected to continue kicking up a stink. At this stage the best that can be said is that the vote next year will not be a walkover for the company and its bankers. A defeat cannot be wholly ruled out. This is not a conventional share register dominated by institutions, but one in which 68 per cent is owned by private shareholders, mostly French.

On the other side of the fence are the banks. It will be equally tough for the 25 lead banks to sell this plan to the other 200 banks in the lending syndicates. From their perspective, they have given away a great deal in below market interest rates and a holiday on up to £1.85bn of interest in the first nine years.

If this were a purely British reconstruction, it is doubtful whether shareholders would have been left with more than 10 or 15 per cent of the equity. Even in the worst case, shareholders have done twice as well as that. Since a receivership would have taken place partly under French law, which is more

favourable to shareholders, the balance of advantage in negotiations tipped away from the banks, as Sir Alastair Merton, the chairman, rightly predicted a year ago.

One small bank in the US nearly wrecked the \$7bn rescue of Rupert Murdoch's News International, which required 100 per cent approval by the syndicates. Eurotunnel requires the same unanimity. There will be another nine months of high drama before this deal finally goes ahead.

## Botnar's sentence should be to stay in Switzerland

The saga of Octav Botnar's Nissan UK is a frustrating one all round. Five years after the Inland Revenue went in under the blaze of television lights in search of tax fraud, they have had to settle for less than a sixth of the £300m originally demanded. Meanwhile the elusive Mr Botnar remains safely beyond the clutches of the Revenue's arrest warrant on the shores of Lake Geneva. The business he founded, which once employed 600 people and was worth £400m, is pretty well on the rocks.

Mr Botnar, even from his extradition-proof haven, remains a bitter man as the 10-page rant he issued through his London solicitors yesterday demonstrates. It is the usual and by now jaded rehash of how the beastly Japanese gangled up to rob him of a car distribution business built up over 30

years and how the Revenue connived in helping destroy it.

Not everyone loves the Japanese and few people have a good word to say about the Revenue, but please Mr Botnar. Not even the Revenue deserves to be likened to "the terror police in former communist countries" which you say you fled when you arrived in Britain all those years ago.

In some respects, the £59m Mr Botnar has agreed to cough up to resolve all civil proceedings between him, Nissan UK and the Revenue, is not a bad deal. If Mr Botnar is right and his business now only has assets worth £300m, it might have proved an expensive waste of taxpayers' money bringing the case to court.

The question now is what to do about Mr Botnar himself, who remains the subject of an arrest warrant on tax fraud charges and is thus officially classed as a fugitive from justice. Though in rude health when he was last seen on these shores, Mr Botnar is 83 and not getting any younger. Having gotten the money out of him, would it be oppressive to Britain, and stage a criminal show trial?

The answer is probably yes. It should not, however, be forgotten that two Nissan UK executives, did go to trial and ended up doing time. One of them, Michael Hunt, remains stuck in an open prison with occasional release for community service. Perhaps the best sentence for Mr Botnar is for him to remain in Switzerland, or Germany,

or Spain or whichever holiday home he currently resides in, festering away in his own bitterness and at the injustice of it all.

## SHV holds all the cards in Calor deal

Being a minority shareholder is a far from happy business, as SHV's £245m move on the stake it does not own in Calor illustrates. The private Dutch group has been playing a cunning game since it gobbled up to Calor as a white knight to fend off the unwanted attentions of the Barclay Brothers in the 1980s. Without forking out a full takeover price, it has managed to exercise effective management control over Britain's biggest distributor of bottled gas for around 10 years.

First by buying the Barclays' stake, then through the mechanism of a tender offer and later by swapping assets and buying tiny stakes every year, SHV has, by a process of attrition, amassed its current holding of 51.6 per cent. It has been a long-term strategy, swiftness of its investment policy elsewhere – some of the sums Calor has invested in conjunction with SHV in gas businesses in places like Brazil and South-east Asia may not see decent returns until the next century. The price now being offered to outside shareholders is hardly generous – 40p a share of it is coming from Calor's own money. But with no prospect of a rival bidder, SHV holds all the cards.

## Industry misses out on recovery

DIANE COYLE  
Economics Editor

Industry is trailing behind the rest of the economy as it gathers steam, according to official figures which showed a drop in manufacturing output in August.

The decline came as a surprise, as recent surveys have suggested a marked rise in industrial orders and production. According to the statisticians, however, the trend in manufacturing remained flat all summer, with total industrial production doing little better.

The Treasury painted the drop in output in August as an erratic move following a strong increase in July. "The clear message of recent business surveys is that manufacturing output is now on the up," a spokesman said.

But the Labour Party pounced on yesterday's figures, ahead of the economy debate at the Conservative Party conference. Margaret Beckett, shadow trade secretary, said output was at best stagnant.

The City took the news as a

signal that Kenneth Clarke, Chancellor of the Exchequer, would at least be able to postpone the need to increase interest rates as the economy recovers. "It will help the Chancellor put off the day of reckoning until after the election," said Adam Cole, an economist at brokers James Capel.

Yet few experts thought yesterday's weak figures would change the Bank of England's preference for a modest

increase in base rates to skin the froth off the pick-up in the economy. Minutes of the 4 September monetary meeting, which will be published tomorrow, will reveal whether Eddie George, the Bank's Governor, repeated his advice last month.

Total industrial output fell 0.3 per cent in August, with declines in both manufacturing and mining, oil and gas extraction, although electricity, gas and water output was up during the

month. Manufacturing output was down 0.3 per cent, and its 0.9 per cent year-on-year drop was the highest since June 1993.

The least erratic three-month changes also showed a 0.3 per cent fall in total output. But within that total manufacturing was up 0.1 per cent, mining and oil and gas extraction down 0.8 per cent and the utilities' production down 3.2 per cent after the unusually cold spring.

The feeble performance in

manufacturing afflicted a range of industries. During the three months to August there was a sharp decline in nuclear fuel reprocessing which took output in its category 7.1 per cent lower.

Most other industries saw little change in production, with two exceptions. These were textiles, leather and clothing, up 1 per cent and the key engineering sector, up 0.7 per cent.

Engineering production was one of the strongest performers in those three months compared with a year earlier, along with chemicals. All other manufacturing categories were down year-on-year.

Although most City analysts saw the August figures as an aberration, some were more cautious. "For all the improvement in corporate confidence, there is no impact on output," said Simon Briscoe at Nikko Europe.

He pointed out that despite the consumer recovery, output of durable goods was up only 2.1 per cent in the year to August, while production of non-durable goods fell slightly.



World-wide sales of the luxury Rolls-Royce (such as the Silver Spur, pictured above) and Bentley cars, produced by Vickers, climbed by 18 per cent to 1,278 in the first nine months of the year. Higher car sales were recorded in the UK,

up from 413 to 555, the Americas, up from 248 to 292, and the Middle East, up from 46 to 58. The increases offset a 12 per cent drop in continental Europe, where car sales fell from 155 to 136 despite a strong performance in Germany.

## "A Fast Well Equipped PC - A Great Choice For Experts And Beginners Alike"

Computer Buyer Magazine October 96



### 0% Interest Free Credit

MJN have put together two superb high performance PC systems with a massive software bundle to provide you with everything you are ever likely to need. Take a closer look at the amazing specification of these systems which are available on Interest Free Credit from only £58 per month. Early orders also qualify for a free 28.8 modem.

Relative Processor Performance Based on 3.0 Winstone 96™ as certified by MDR labs. (Note: Scale starts from 60)



Recent Winning Machines

MJN 01 282 777 555

Telephone sales lines are open Monday - Friday 9am - 7pm, Saturday 9am - 5pm

- MJN Office**
- Intel 133MHz Pentium® processor (P133 Office) or 166MHz Pentium® processor (P166 Office)
  - Intel socket 7 with upgradability to Intel Pentium 200MHz
  - 32MB EDO RAM (P133 Office) or 32MB EDO RAM (P166 Office)
  - 28.8Kbps modem
  - 1GB (P133 Office) or 2GB (P166 Office) Enhanced IDE hard disk
  - Eight speed IDE CD-ROM drive
  - Integrated 16-bit sound board, PC joystick & two stereo speakers
  - 3.5" & 4.44" floppy drive
  - Enhanced parallel, PS/2 mouse & two high speed serial ports
  - 64-bit integrated graphics (uses 1MB RAM; switchable to 2MB for increased resolution / colours)
  - Graphics video acceleration with software MPEG capability
  - 14" (P133 Office) or 15" (P166 Office) crisp sharp 280p NI VGA screen
  - 105 Windows 95 keyboard and mouse
  - MIDI tower case with seven drive bays
  - FREE 28.8Kbps modem included with first 999 orders

- Pre-Loaded Software**
- Microsoft Windows 95 with manual and CD
  - Lotus SmartSuite 95 for Windows 95 with WordPro 95, Freelance 95, Approach 95, 1-2-3, Organizer and Streetscape
  - MSI TurboCAD for Windows CAD and design pack
  - Fun School educational suite with Spelling, Maths, Paint & Create & more
  - GSP Software suite with Penmanship, Designworks, Homebase and Money
  - Autoscribe and Compuwrite educational suite
  - PC Paintbrush, CV & Jobsearch Pro, EZ Language French, German & Spanish
  - Encyclopedia/multimedia encyclopedia CD
  - BodyWorks V5 multimedia CD
  - WinStar Windows 95 tutorial CD
  - Screening games pack CD
  - Quick Quicken V5 multimedia CD

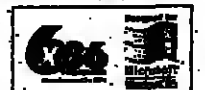
**MJN P133 Office**  
16MB EDO RAM, 1GB hard disk, 14" VGA screen + FREE 28.8 modem

**£58 per month**

APR 07% £135.70 deposit and 24 monthly payments of £58. Total price £2,000.00 + £135.70 tax, delivery and VAT.

Personal Finance is subject to credit checks. Make sure that you will be able to afford the monthly finance payments before entering into a finance agreement. System details are subject to change without notice. Products and prices are subject to change without notice. Products and prices are subject to change without notice. Products and prices are subject to change without notice.

Interest Free Offers Extended to 15th October



**MJN P166 Office**  
32MB EDO RAM, 2GB hard disk, 15" VGA screen + FREE 28.8 modem

**£67 per month**

APR 07% £200.70 deposit and 24 monthly payments of £67. Total price £2,000.00 + £200.70 tax, delivery and VAT.

Personal Finance is subject to credit checks. Make sure that you will be able to afford the monthly finance payments before entering into a finance agreement. System details are subject to change without notice. Products and prices are subject to change without notice. Products and prices are subject to change without notice.

Interest Free Offers Extended to 15th October

## COMPETITION IS GREAT FOR BUSINESS.

# SO COME ON, BT, BE A BIT MORE COMPETITIVE.

Great, isn't it? The ex-monopoly and its old rival fighting for your business. You can't lose. Better service. Latest products. And most of all, lower prices. OK, so BT cut their prices today. Even so, Mercury is still substantially cheaper than BT. Add Mercury to your phone system and save 48% on a 3 minute call to the States during weekday working hours. Or 39% on a 5 minute long distance call in the UK. So, for the really competitive prices, call us.

Call us now on FreeCall 0500 800 125 and find out how much your company would save. Or return this coupon to Mercury, Unit 10, FREEPOST MR 9504, PO Box 49, Wythenshawe, Manchester M22 5GE

MR MRU-MSA MS INITIALS SURNAME

JOB TITLE

COMPANY NAME

ADDRESS

POSTCODE

TEL NO

It doesn't cost anything to talk  
FreeCall 0500 800 125. BTPOD 95

International numbers are based on Global Link package, subject to a 4.5p premium charge. The UK national call is based on UK Link package, calls subject to a 2p premium charge. All prices quoted ex VAT. All prices and savings subject to BT's basic rate, from 10pm weekdays. A reservation fee of £7.50 per quarter applies. All prices quoted ex VAT.







## Smarter fashions suit Moss Bros

### THE INVESTMENT COLUMN

EDITED BY TOM STEVENSON

Moss Bros may not be Britain's largest menswear retailer but it is certainly one of the best performing. Investors have seen the shares more than treble in the last 18 months, rising from less than 400p to 1250p yesterday, up another 55p on the day. With another healthy hike in the dividend, the company is looking as sharp as a Cecil Gee suit.

Pre-tax profits in the six months to July soared by 54 per cent to £4.94m. Current trading is also strong with like-for-like sales 11 per cent ahead of the same period last year.

At first glance, the reason for this stellar performance is something of a mystery. Its brands such as The Suit Company, Cecil Gee and Savoy Tailors Guild do not immediately stand out as world beaters. And though retail fortunes are improving, the high street remains fiercely competitive.

But Moss Bros has been helped by a number of factors. First, the increasing popularity of suits have boosted sales at the company's different store formats. The lure of formal suits through its Moss Bros chain has also been strong. Management keeps a tight rein on costs and is clever with regular promotions that have not dented margins.

There remains plenty of room for expansion. Five shops opened in the first half, taking the total to 160. A further 11 will open in the second.

The recently acquired Blazer chain, which made a small loss in the first half, will be doubled in size to around 50 stores. It should make a profit contribution in the full year. The excess of sites vacated by the likes of Liberty and the collapsed

Facia group should help Moss Bros' negotiating power with landlords.

Moss Bros' dapper managing director Rowland Gee was doing his best to dampen down over-enthusiasm yesterday, noting that the high street remains a challenging place and that consumers remain cautious.

But analysts were undeterred, increasing forecasts to £1.5m for the full year, which puts the shares on a demanding rating of almost 23. The worry is management may get carried away and over-stretch themselves with a larger acquisition. There were rumours a few months ago that Moss Bros may pounce on Austin Reed, though this was before the £7m purchase of the Blazer stores from Storehouse.

And impressive though the com-

pany's performance has been, the shares' strong run leaves little room for error. Moss Bros remains a quality company but the safest course is to take some profits.

### Shot in the arm for Chiroscience

Chiroscience saw its shares leap in April on hopes that the biotechnology group's anti-cancer treatment would be more effective than British Biotech's Marimastat, the drug that set the sector alight last November. That fuelled a rise in the shares to a peak of 485p and the group promptly rolled out a £40.3m cash call at 410p.

Up to now they have failed to breach that barrier, so yesterday's 15p rise to 411p is more than usually significant.

Investors are regaining their confidence as they switch their focus to Levobupivacaine, a local anaesthetic which could be on sale in 1998 if all goes well. Yesterday's interim results, which saw losses increased from £5.52m to £7.52m in the six months to August, brought encouraging news on Levobupivacaine.

The company claims it has received good initial support from the US Food and Drug Administration, which it hopes will approve the drug by the middle of 1998.

Chiroscience is optimistic that Levobupivacaine can win at least a third of a \$900m market, so much so that it parted company with Pharmacia & Upjohn, its development partner, earlier this year. But it still needs a marketing tie and expectations are high that current talks will deliver a link with a big drugs group soon.

With £47m in the bank, Chiroscience should not need to raise more funds until it becomes self-financing through sales of Levobupivacaine. Even so, it still needs development partners to finance the £300m-odd costs of developing its MMP drugs and its potential oral treatment for asthma, due to go into patient trials next year.

Even capitalised at £347m, Chiroscience will look grossly undervalued if all these deals come off. But the risks remain and next spring's announcement of the results of the Levobupi-

### Manganeze is faring well

If you've ever stood in the rain trying to hail a black cab, you will be aware of what a good economic indicator London taxis can be. Manganeze Bronze, which makes most of them, has ridden the cycle with mixed success and came a cropper in the early 1990s as a shortage of foreign tourists compounded an already difficult economic backdrop. Since then, the company has gone from strength to strength.

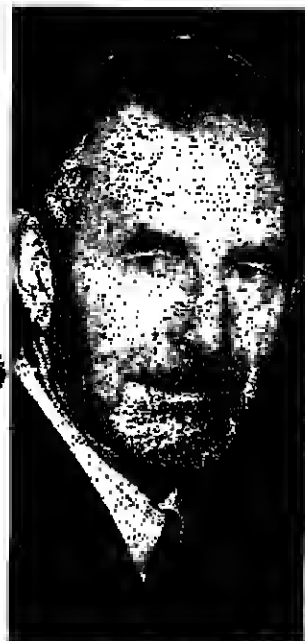
Full-year figures for the 12 months to July yesterday showed a 48 per cent profit advance to £6.2m, well above consensus forecasts of about £5.5m. Earnings per share of 26.8p were 34 per cent higher, stripping out one-off, and the dividend for the year was a full 40 per cent better at 7p (5p).

Demand is high and orders are benefiting from the 1995 Disability Discrimination Act, which means that all taxis operating in London must be wheelchair accessible within the next three years. That boost is becoming evident in production figures that increased from 52 to 60 vehicles a week during the year and are now running at 68 a week.

The shares have had a remarkable run since bottoming out at the end of 1992 at 66p. Yesterday they jumped another 14p to 360.5p. With forecast profit growth of only 10 per cent, that is high enough.

## Merger storm may not blow over this time

### PEOPLE & BUSINESS



Challenged: Graeme Odgers has two more years at MMC

Despite his 62 years, Graeme Odgers sees his reappointment as chairman of the Monopolies and Mergers Commission (MMC) for a further two years yesterday as "extremely challenging and extremely stimulating".

His three-and-a-half years in the office so far have been dominated by the privatised utilities. "We've had the first British Gas report, water, electricity. There is an element of consistency across the utilities which has helped enormously by our involvement," he said.

Then there have been the bids for VSEL by GEC and British Aerospace, and the two power generation mergers which Mr Odgers opposed but which the

Government waved through. "Very interesting cases," he says.

There does, however, seem to be a storm looming. When Sir Bryan Carsberg was director general of the Office of Fair Trading, the regulatory policeman to the MMC's judiciary, Sir Bryan recommended that the two bodies be merged. Mr Odgers got the better of the argument, and Sir Bryan left the OFT 15 months ago.

But now the Labour party supports an OFT/MMC merger. What will happen next year if Tony and Co get in? "I think these are highly

complicated areas," Mr Odgers says diplomatically. "And who knows who will be the next party in power?"

Who indeed? Mr Odgers has a distinguished industrial career behind him, including the top job at BT. Does he have any plans for his next job when he leaves the MMC? He laughs. "I'm 62, so we'll leave that until it comes."

The Albert Fisher Group has appointed a new chief executive, Neil England, who is currently vice president of Mars, the American food giant, in Moscow. But hang on a minute. The

British foods group Albert Fisher already has an executive chairman, the ambitious Stephen Walls. So who's going to run things?

"Mr England will run the worldwide company, day to day, driving the company forward," says an Albert Fisher spokesman. "This frees up Mr Walls, who can concentrate on strategic issues."

This has tempted some observers of the food industry scene to speculate that Mr Walls will now be "freed up" to accept a job with a bigger company, as he is "not without ambition".

The Albert Fisher spokesman is not impressed by this idea, however. "There's plenty of work for the two of them."

Richard Eyre, chief executive of Capital Radio, London's biggest independent radio station, is moving his head office and studios from the fly-blown wastes of the Euston Road to the throbbing heart of the West End - Leicester Square.

Capital is opening a hyper-chic restaurant in the basement of its new building on 18 November to tie in with the move.

But the eatery will not be a themed tourist trap. Instead Mr Eyre's restaurant will include a radio studio, with DJs such as Chris Tarrant and various rock stars popping in to do their stuff in front of the diners.

John Willcock

# Higher and higher



## EDUCATION PLUS

### LAUNCHES THIS THURSDAY

This new education supplement, with pages of recruitment opportunities, will be an essential read for everyone involved in higher education.

Every Thursday.

Order your copy now

THE INDEPENDENT

### IN BRIEF

• Geo Interactive Media, the internet products developer, plans to join the Alternative Investment Market by way of a placing. The company, which has developed a product called Emblaze that allows users to access animation, sound and video, also announced the appointment of three non-executive directors. They are David Goldman, who founded Sage; Chris Evans, who founded Chiroscience; and Peter Sheldon, a director of World of Leather. Price Waterhouse is the nominated adviser.

• Owen & Robinson, the retailing group, warned that full-year profits would fall short of analysts' expectations despite encouraging trading at the three recently opened stores. Maurice Dwek has resigned as a director and chairman to concentrate on his private business interests. He is being succeeded as chairman by Egon von Greyerz, who spent 17 years at Dixons Group where he held several positions including vice chairman and group finance director.

• TR European Growth Trust has allowed its offer for the £500m Kleinwort European Privatisation Investment Trust to lapse after securing acceptances of only 3.04 per cent, representing 15.195 million shares.

• Capital & Regional Properties reported an active first half, both in terms of leasing and acquisitions, and simultaneously announced the purchase of a £15m leisure complex in Wolverhampton. Rental income for the six months to June rose from £4.9m to £7.9m, and profits before tax climbed from £2m to £2.5m. Since January, tenant demand, particularly for retail properties, has accelerated resulting in clear indications of rental growth, said Martin Barber, chairman of Capital.

• Ashted Group, the equipment rental group, has bought Astra Pumps & Plant for an initial cash consideration of £1.3m. Astra hires pumps and non-operated plant in the Irish Republic. In the year ended 30 June 1995, the company increased its pre-tax profits by 60 per cent to £280,000 on turnover up 18 per cent to £1.45m.

• Huntleigh Technology has acquired Hoskins Healthcare, the Birmingham-based hospital bed manufacturer, from the receivers, Deloitte & Touche, for an undisclosed sum.

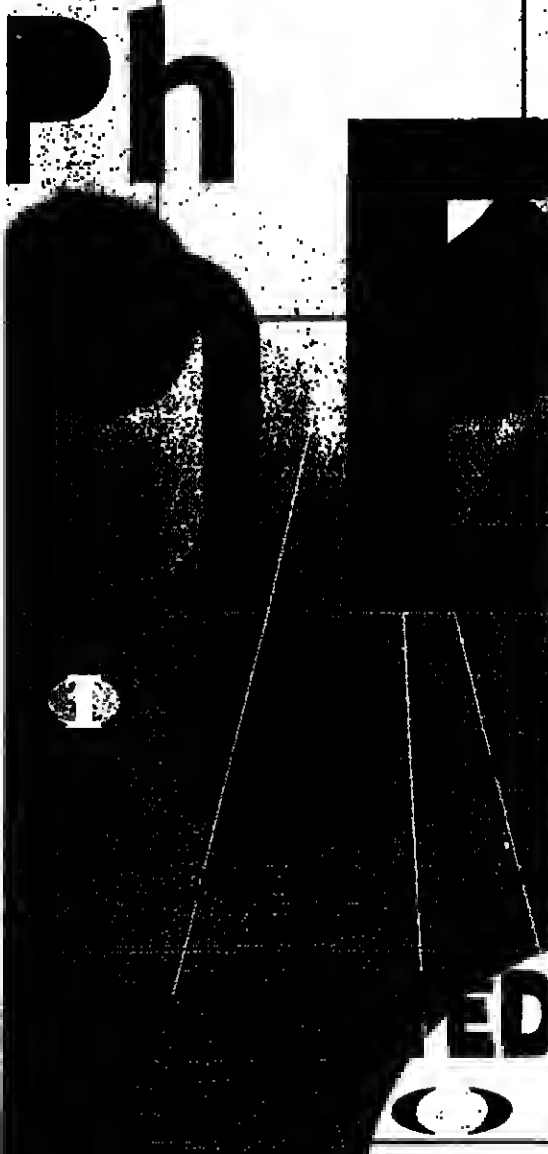
• Peter Black Holdings has paid Scholl £2.5m for Gerard House, a maker of herbal medicines, essential oils and aromatherapy products. Gerard had sales of £2.5m in 1995.

• Polypipe, the building materials company, has purchased Norflex Holdings for £2.9m plus further payments of up to £800,000 dependent on profits from 1 January 1997 to 31 December 1999. Norflex, based in Horncastle, Lincolnshire, is involved in plastic pipes.

• London International Group is selling its remaining Woodward's Grape Water and Beetham Oel businesses in Southern Africa, Canada, the Far East and Australasia for £5.6m to Seton Healthcare Group.

COMPANY RESULTS				
	Turnover £	Pre-tax £	EPS	Dividend
Aradine Int (I)	12.4m (2.4m)	0.50m (0.22m)	0.3p (0.1p)	0.12p (0.1p)
Baldwin (I)	- (-)	0.06m (0.06m)	0.73p (0.39p)	nil (-)
Capital & Regional (I)	- (-)	2.52m (2.04m)	5p (3.7p)	1p (0.4p)
Chiroscience (I)	- (-)	-7.52m (-5.52m)	-4.4p (-4.1p)	- (-)
Colson (I)	10.2m (11.1m)	20.8m (14.1m)	15.7p (12.35p)	3.5p (0.05p)
Deane Group (I)	11.4m (-)	0.88m (-)	10.7p (-)	0.75p (-)
Dwek (I)	22.8m (27.5m)	2.42m (1.82m)	11.82p (8.65p)	2.5p (2.1p)
Farling House (I)	2.65m (2.08m)	0.21m (0.01m)	3.0p (0.1p)	1.4p (1.2p)
Landini & Assoc (I)	- (-)	0.82m (0.82m)	0.82p (0.82p)	0.05p (0.05p)
Mangrove & Assoc (I)	87.3m (88.2m)	6.2m (4.2m)	25.4p (15.5p)	7p (5p)
Moss Bros (I)	48.5m (36.1m)	4.94m (2.21m)	18.34p (12.63p)	8.5p (5p)
Overseas (I)	27.5m (26.8m)	1.53m (1.31m)	1.72p (1.63p)	0.25p (0.2p)
Raymond (I)	110m (118m)	1.08m (7.08m)	2.4p (15.9p)	7p (7p)
T2 (I)	28.5m (22.1m)	0.24m (0.17m)	1.2p (0.21p)	0.84p (0.8p)
Waterman Partnership (I)	13.8m (10.5m)	0.67m (0.33m)	2.5p (1.3p)	1.2p (1p)

SWIFTCALL  
LOW COST INTERNATIONAL CALLS



For further details of incredible savings to hundreds of international destinations AND TO OPEN AN ACCOUNT CALL:

0800 769 0800

Freephone access available to Swiftcall customers on:

1488

SWIFTCALL		SWIFTCALL	
B.T.		B.T.	
Argentina	60p	131p	35p
Australia	30p	54p	70p
Bahrain	74p	102p	108p
Bangladesh	80p	133p	70p
Belgium	24p	36p	80p
Bosnia-Herzegovina	56p	67p	131p
Brazil	60p	131p	131p
Canada	16p	30p	54p
Caribbean	56p	70p	54p
Chile	60p	131p	102p
China	80p	108p	131p
Colombia	70p	135p	60p
Costa Rica	70p	131p	60p
Czech Rep	30p	45p	80p
Denmark	16p	36p	102p
Egypt	70p	126p	54p
El Salvador	70p	131p	80p
Fiji	112p	135p	80p
France	16p	36p	60p
Germany	16p	36p	60p
Ghana	74p	131p	74p
Greece	28p	36p	40p
Guyana	80p	102p	60p
Honduras	64p	131p	28p
Hong Kong	40p	60p	131p
Hungary	34p	45p	22p
India	60p	133p	22p
Indonesia	80p	108p	102p
Ireland	16p	20p	126p
Israel	60p	114p	70p
Japan	30p	77p	60p
Jordan	64p	126p	102p
Kenya	80p	131p	102p
Korea (South)	50p	108p	77p
Kuwait	74p	102p	50p
Latvia	98p	102p	131p
Luxembourg	24p	35p	35p
Malawi	70p	131p	131p
Malaysia	60p	108p	131p
Mexico	70p	135p	131p
Namibia	80p	131p	131p
Netherlands	28p	36p	131p
New Zealand	36p	54p	131p
Norway	24p	45p	131p
Oman	96p	102p	131p
Pakistan	80p	131p	131p
Panama	60p	131p	131p
Peru	60p	131p	131p
Philippines	40p	131p	131p
Portugal	30p	36p	131p
Puerto Rico	54p	70p	131p
Qatar	80p	102p	131p
Romania	80p	102p	131p
Russia	60p	102p	131p
Saudi Arabia	74p	102p	131p
Singapore	40p	60p	131p
South Africa	60p	102p	131p
Spain	28p	36p	131p
Sri Lanka	94p	131p	131p
Sudan	22p	131p	131p
Sweden	22p	45p	131p
Switzerland	22p	36p	131p
Syria	102p	126p	131p
Taiwan	40p	102p	131p
Thailand	70p	102p	131p
UAE	60p	102p	131p
Uganda	102p	131p	131p
Ukraine	96p	102p	131p
Uruguay	77p	131p	131p
USA	50p	30p	131p
Venezuela	60p	131p	131p
Zimbabwe	99p	131p	131p

REF: IDC  
PLEASE HAVE YOUR CREDIT CARD READY.  
OPERATORS ARE STANDING BY 24 HOURS A DAY, 7 DAYS A WEEK, READY TO TAKE YOUR CALL.  
Comparisons against B.T. standard residential rates. Swiftcall prices are indicative and are subject to change at 30 days notice. Prices correct as of Oct 1996.



## business

# Interest rates could be a big problem for Brown

The mid-point between the party conferences and inevitably eyes this week focused on Kenneth Clarke, not just as the leading "European" in the Cabinet, but as the architect (or at least the impresario) of the Budget. The Budget, after all, is the Government's last big card to play before the election.

But, of course, the balance of probability is that this will be a Budget which overhappens. If, as is the balance of probability, Labour wins a May general election, many of its features will be modified almost immediately after they have been put into effect.

On the tax side, any immediate changes in excise duties will go into effect straight away in November, but changes in income taxation will only start in April, so that only one pay-packet at the new rate will be in people's bank accounts when the election comes.

Then, on the assumption that Labour is able to form the next government, there will have to be a second budget modifying the first, probably in June. This will be the first taste of what it might be like under the new government - the extent to which fiscal policy really will be different. While it might seem a touch premature to be discussing Labour's first shot when we have not yet had the Tories' last one, anyone seeking to think through the influences on financial markets in the next few months ought to start building a



ECONOMIC VIEW  
HAMISH McRAE

Labour budget into their time-frame. Some assumptions: the evidence of the past few weeks confirms that manufacturing is growing slower and the services industry is growing faster.

According to yesterday's figures, manufacturing has not grown at all during the past 12 months, which means all the growth in the economy is taking place elsewhere. Service output has risen 3.2 per cent in the past year.

## 'A Labour chancellor will have to slow the economy, deciding how to do so within a few weeks of taking office'

It is very hard to see this growth slackening through the winter and spring, particularly given the one-off boosts to people's wealth that will come from the conversion of several building societies to quoted companies. So growth next summer will be running at somewhere between 3 and 4 per cent, unemployment will still be falling and stocks, as yet,

there will be little immediate sign of a pick-up in inflation, people will start to worry about this.

The prospect therefore will be for higher interest rates, if the first upward nudge has not already taken place. Some estimates for the main features of the UK economy next year and in 1998, drawn from forecasts by NatWest Markets, are set out in the graph.

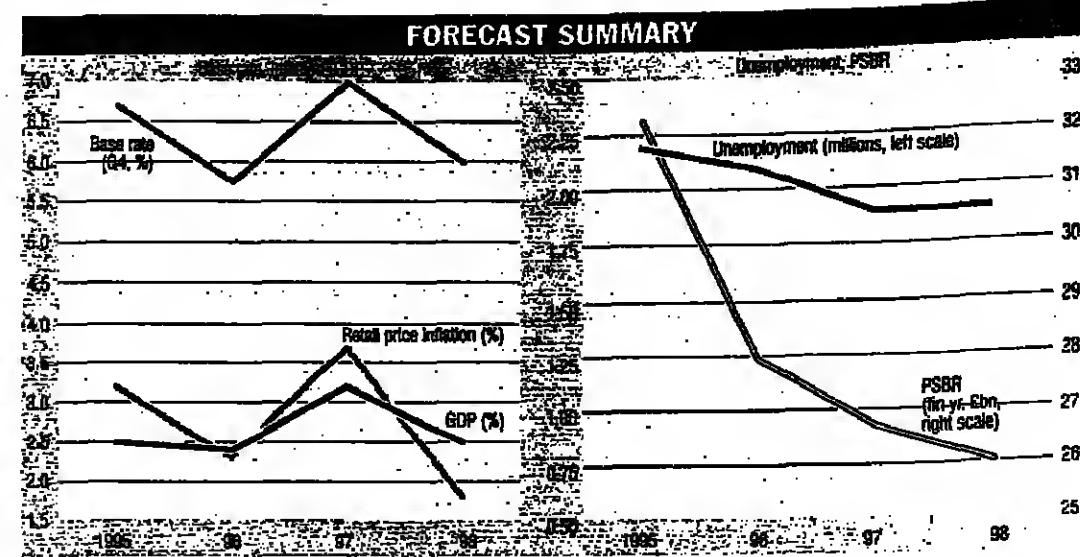
Forecasts are only forecasts but you can see the two obvious potential problems looming next year: that

ple of weeks of taking office. What might this mean in practice?

NatWest has made some assumptions that Mr Clarke cuts taxes by £20bn in November, a cut matched by cuts in spending, but enough to get 1p off income tax. He will not, they think, go for tax cuts over and above this - a view which would fit in with everything that Mr Clarke said in Washington at the IMF meeting last week.

But then what will Gordon Brown do? It would be very difficult to reverse the income tax cut, particularly since Labour will have had to give some pretty firm commitments in the election campaign. He will, however, be committed to some additional spending and while he will be able to call in the windfall tax cut, that is a one-off tax which will not (presumably) be repeated in later years. He will probably increase corporation tax, or at least the burden of company taxation in some other form, but that will not bring in revenue for another year. Meanwhile the privatisation programme will wind down, depriving him of another source of revenue. NatWest assumes a rise in spending of rather more than £22bn, with taxation up a bit under £22bn so that the PSBR rises by only £500m.

It is an interesting exercise because it shows just how difficult it will be for the new government to do anything radical - to do more than fiddle a bit with numbers already handed to it. In public finance terms



a couple of billion extra of taxation or spending is nothing, for it is well within the forecasting errors of recent years. Adding less than a billion to the PSBR is also a minimal change.

Even so, there is a problem, for any increase in the PSBR will be greeted adversely by the markets, which will already be expecting a rise

and though this will probably be small, Labour will have to lean harder against inflation - which means even higher interest rates. That seems to be what the professionals expect, to judge by surveys of business opinion.

I suspect that these considerations may encourage Mr Brown to try to run a tighter fiscal policy than Mr

reputation that it wants, as fiscally responsible, then the price of cheaper long-term borrowing could be grasped quite quickly. Remember that UK public finances have to stack up against those of other EU members whether or not EMU happens, for despite the current mood that it will, the practical difficulties are far from resolved.

It should not be too difficult for the UK to establish a fiscal position which is at least as favourable as that of France or Germany, but to do so means coming down from that £20bn PSBR to £20bn or lower.

It is credible that Labour might introduce something that feels like an austerity budget within a month of taking office? If you believe the answer is "yes", then all expectations of higher inflation, higher interest rates and higher spending would be wrong. If not... expect Labour to run up the learning curve and bring in the austerity Budget in 1998, not 1997.

## It will be very difficult for a new government to do any more than fiddle with numbers already handed to it

in interest rates. The clear danger for Labour is that interest rates will have to be higher than they would under a Tory government, partly because of concern about a later fiscal stance, but also because of higher inflationary expectations.

Other policies of Labour, in particular the minimum wage, will have some effect in increasing inflation

Clarke, not a looser one. If this is right, the June budget would be very interesting politically, for somehow spending would have to be cut below Tory plans, or there would have to be tax increases over and above those already planned.

It would be even more interesting in economic and financial terms, for if Labour can quickly establish the

### Foreign Exchange Rates

Country	Spot	1 month	3 months	Spot	1 month	3 months
US	1.5638	8-6	10-10	1.000	—	—
Canada	2.1862	38-34	12-104	1.2533	18-18	60-58
Germany	2.3851	58-57	172-183	1.5504	31-29	98-95
France	6.0881	76-77	180-188	5.7743	90-85	273-263
Italy	237.00	45-58	125-147	51.75	345-415	920-930
Japan	173.98	87-83	249-243	11.26	51-50	151-148
ECU	1.2510	20-17	58-57	1.2488	13-14	44-45
Belgium	49.299	14-10	38-37	21.920	75-55	213-82
Spain	167.00	15-15	45-45	16.970	98-79	228-97
Netherlands	2.0851	74-63	210-216	1.771	38-37	121-115
Ireland	0.7976	1-3	4-6	0.4080	3-2	6-4
Norway	131.4	130-70	270-80	6.5051	50-25	189-89
Sweden	20.122	15-25	45-45	12.618	18-20	40-48
Switzerland	1.3325	74-71	210-216	1.5504	31-29	98-95
Australia	1.9879	12-30	35-45	1.2712	14-16	33-35
Hong Kong	12.010	60-210	980-430	7.2320	2-0	2-7
Malaysia	3.991	0-0	0-0	2.5710	27-30	80-85
New Zealand	2.2250	74-82	200-225	1.4446	54-58	97-98
Saudi Arabia	5.8850	0-0	0-0	2.4507	1-1	5-9
Singapore	2.2073	0-0	0-0	1.4115	24-18	70-65

### Other Spot Rates

Country	Spot	1 month	3 months	Country	Spot	1 month	3 months
Argentina	15.0000	—	—	Poland	1.0000	—	—
Australia	1.5638	8-6	10-10	Portugal	20.122	15-25	45-45
Brazil	1.5638	8-6	10-10	Romania	1.0000	—	—
Canada	2.1862	38-34	12-104	Russia	1.0000	—	—
China	8.2833	—	—	South Africa	7.0934	—	—
Denmark	5.2325	34-31	—	Taiwan	43.026	—	—
Finland	7.5205	—	—	Thailand	5.642	—	—
France	6.0881	76-77	180-188	UK	1.0000	—	—
Germany	2.3851	58-57	172-183	USA	1.5638	8-6	10-10
Greece	375.00	—	—				
India	35.7889	—	—				
Indonesia	1.5638	8-6	10-10				

Forward rates quoted high to low are at a discount; add to spot rate. Dollar rates quoted low to high are at a premium; add to spot rate. \*Dollar rates quoted as bid/offer. For the latest foreign exchange rates call 0891 323 3033. Calls cost 30p per minute (cheapest rate) 45p other times.

### Interest Rates

Country	Rate	Country	Rate	Country	Rate
UK	5.75%	Germany	5.50%	US	5.75%
France	5.75%	Italy	5.50%	Japan	5.50%
Spain	5.75%	Netherlands	5.50%	Belgium	5.50%
Denmark	5.75%	Sweden	5.50%	Switzerland	5.50%
Portugal	5.75%	Finland	5.50%	Australia	5.50%
Canada	5.75%	New Zealand	5.50%	South Africa	5.50%
India	5.75%	Indonesia	5.50%	Thailand	5.50%
Singapore	5.75%	Malaysia	5.50%	Philippines	5.50%

### Bond Yields

Country	Yield	Country	Yield	Country	Yield
UK	7.1%	Germany	7.1%	US	7.1%
France	7.1%	Italy	7.1%	Japan	7.1%
Spain	7.1%	Netherlands	7.1%	Belgium	7.1%
Denmark	7.1%	Sweden	7.1%	Switzerland	7.1%
Portugal	7.1%	Finland	7.1%	Australia	7.1%
Canada	7.1%	New Zealand	7.1%	South Africa	7.1%
India	7.1%	Indonesia	7.1%	Thailand	7.1%
Singapore	7.1%	Malaysia	7.1%	Philippines	7.1%

### Money Market Rates

Country	Rate	Country	Rate	Country	Rate
UK	5.75%	Germany	5.50%	US	5.75%
France	5.75%	Italy	5.50%	Japan	5.50%
Spain	5.75%	Netherlands	5.50%	Belgium	5.50%
Denmark	5.75%	Sweden	5.50%	Switzerland	5.50%
Portugal	5.75%	Finland	5.50%	Australia	5.50%
Canada	5.75%	New Zealand	5.50%	South Africa	5.50%
India	5.75%	Indonesia	5.50%	Thailand	5.50%
Singapore	5.75%	Malaysia	5.50%	Philippines	5.50%

### Tourist Rates

Country	Rate	Country	Rate	Country	Rate
UK	1.0000	Germany	1.0000	US	1.0000
France	1.0000	Italy	1.0000	Japan	1.0000
Spain	1.0000	Netherlands	1.0000	Belgium	1.0000
Denmark	1.0000	Sweden	1.0000	Switzerland	1.0000
Portugal	1.0000	Finland	1.0000	Australia	1.0000
Canada	1.0000	New Zealand	1.0000	South Africa	1.0000
India	1.0000	Indonesia	1.0000	Thailand	1.0000
Singapore	1.0000	Malaysia	1.0000	Philippines	1.0000

### Life Financial Futures

Contract	Settlement	High/Low	Open	Close	Settlement
12m UK Govt	Dec 96	105.00	105.00	105.00	105.00
12m US Govt	Dec 96	105.00	105.00	105.00	105.00
12m Euro Govt	Dec 96	105.00	105.00	105.00	105.00
12m Japan Govt	Dec 96	105.00	105.00	105.00	105.00
12m Canada Govt	Dec 96	105.00	105.00	105.00	105.00
12m Australia Govt	Dec 96	105.00	105.00	105.00	105.00
12m New Zealand Govt	Dec 96	105.00	105.00	105.00	105.00
12m South Africa Govt	Dec 96	105.00	105.00	105.00	105.00
12m India Govt	Dec 96	105.00	105.00	105.00	105.00
12m Indonesia Govt	Dec 96	105.00	105.00	105.00	105.00

### Life FTSE Index Options

Contract	Settlement	High/Low	Open	Close	Settlement
12m UK Govt	Dec 96	105.00	105.00	105.00	105.00
12m US Govt	Dec 96	105.00	105.00	105.00	105.00
12m Euro Govt	Dec 96	105.00	105.00	105.00	105.00
12m Japan Govt	Dec 96	105.00	105.00	105.00	105.00
12m Canada Govt	Dec 96	105.00	105.00	105.00	105.00
12m Australia Govt	Dec 96	105.00	105.00	105.00	105.00
12m New Zealand Govt	Dec 96	105.00	105.00	105.00	105.00
12m South Africa Govt	Dec 96	105.00	105.00	105.00	105.00
12m India Govt	Dec 96	105.00	105.00	105.00	105.00
12m Indonesia Govt	Dec 96	105.00	105.00	105.00	105.00

### Commodity Indices

Contract	Settlement	High/Low	Open	Close	Settlement
12m UK Govt	Dec 96	105.00	105.00	105.00	105.00
12m US Govt	Dec 96	105.00	105.00	105.00	105.00
12m Euro Govt	Dec 96	105.00	105.00	105.00	105.00
12m Japan Govt	Dec 96	105.00	105.00	105.00	105.00
12m Canada Govt	Dec 96	105.00	105.00	105.00	105.00
12m Australia Govt	Dec 96	105.00	105.00	105.00	105.00
12m New Zealand Govt	Dec 96	105.00	105.00	105.00	105.00
12m South Africa Govt	Dec 96	105.00	105.00	105.00	105.00
12m India Govt	Dec 96	105.00	105.00	105.00	105.00
12m Indonesia Govt	Dec 96	105.00	105.00	105.00	105.00

### Latest Unit Trust Prices

Contract	Settlement	High/Low	Open	Close	Settlement
12m UK Govt	Dec 96	105.00	105.00	105.00	105.00
12m US Govt	Dec 96	105.00	105.00	105.00	105.00
12m Euro Govt	Dec 96	105.00	105.00	105.00	105.00
12m Japan Govt	Dec 96	105.00	105.00	105.00	105.00
12m Canada Govt	Dec 96	105.00	105.00	105.00	105.00
12m Australia Govt	Dec 96	105.00	105.00	105.00	105.00
12m New Zealand Govt	Dec 96	105.00	105.00	105.00	105.00
12m South Africa Govt	Dec 96	105.00	105.00	105.00	105.00
12m India Govt	Dec 96	105.00	105.00	105.00	105.00
12m Indonesia Govt	Dec 96	105.00	105.00	105.00	105.00

### Industrial Metals

Contract	Settlement	High/Low	Open	Close	Settlement
12m UK Govt	Dec 96	105.00	105.00	105.00	105.00
12m US Govt	Dec 96	105.00	105.00	105.00	105.00
12m Euro Govt	Dec 96	105.00	105.00	105.00	105.00
12m Japan Govt	Dec 96	105.00	105.00	105.00	105.00
12m Canada Govt	Dec 96	105.00	105.00	105.00	105.00
12m Australia Govt	Dec 96	105.00	105.00	105.00	105.00
12m New Zealand Govt	Dec 96	105.00	105.00	105.00	105.00
12m South Africa Govt	Dec 96	105.00	105.00	105.00	105.00
12m India Govt	Dec 96	105.00	105.00	105.00	105.00
12m Indonesia Govt	Dec 96	105.00	105.00	105.00	105.00

### Precious Metals

E class		High	Open
Oct	24725	+175	Nov 25.05
Nov	24075	+325	Dec 24.50
Dec	23100	+425	Jan 23.90
Feb	22484		Feb 23.20
All prices garbage for week. Source: CIG-Low			
Prices			
% Spot	% Day	21 Dec	%
208.75	+0.15	208.50	
204.23	-0.05	201.75	



# Helissio rating less than Generous

## Racing

GREG WOOD

If you are going to drink too much champagne, Loogchamp racecourse is one of the most pleasant places in the world to do so, not least when the favourite has just strolled home in the Prix de l'Arc de Triomphe.

Less advisable, though, is any attempt at objectivity, and the bubbles were surely working their magic on too many brains 10 minutes after Sunday's race, when many mentioned Helissio in the same excited breath as Sea Bird. Monday morning, inevitably, demanded a more sober analysis, and the conclusion must be that while Helissio's effortless five-length defeat of Pilsudski marks him out as one of the better Arc winners, comparison with Sea Bird is an insult to the best horse anyone is still alive to remember.

The Timeform organisation, which makes judgements with a lack of emotion which would

do credit to a Vulcan, yesterday promoted Helissio to a handicap mark of 137, comfortably ahead of this season's middle-distance runners but still several pounds behind the post-war greats. When 2lb is removed (for technical reasons) at the end of the season, his final rating of 135 will not even allow

**RICHARD EDMONDSON**  
NAP: Farhan  
(Warwick 1.30)  
NB: Scarrots  
(Warwick 3.00)

him the status of being the best horse of the 1990s, which will remain with Generous, allotted 130 in 1991, while among his own generation, the mile Mark Of Esteem is rated more highly on 138. The likes of Brigadier Gerard (144), Ribot (142), Mill Reef (141) and Dancing Brave (140) are still further ahead, and though Helissio may continue to improve next season, the summit which

is Sea Bird's mark of 145 appears distant indeed. "Helissio is the rating of a very good horse, the best Arc winner since Dancing Brave in 1986," Chris Williams, Timeform's middle-distance handicapper, said yesterday. "You can't win by much more than five lengths, so we don't want to be seen to be knocking the horse. He's improved a great deal since the summer, and the step-up from his Arc trial in the Prix Niel was very dramatic. Darazari was beaten much further on Sunday."

"But it wasn't as strong a field as either Sea Bird or Dancing Brave beat. The first three in the King George, Foulie, Classic and Cliche, all can be regarded as their best, and you can't put holes in the form with Luna Wells, Le Destin and Leonila finishing close up."

It may also prove difficult for Helissio to improve his status. If he again pursues a typically French campaign next season, which would preclude the King

George, the 1997 Arc might be the only race of sufficient calibre to merit a rise in the ratings (always assuming, of course, that he managed to win it). More immediately, meanwhile, Helissio is expected to contest the Japan Cup next month, and given the current yen-dominated state of the world bloodstock market, few will be surprised if he checks in at Charles de Gaulle airport with a one-way ticket.

A long trip also beckons for the Longchamp third, Oscar Schindler. His connections may decide whether to send the Irish St Leger winner to Flemington for the Melbourne Cup on 5 November, and the scales are finely balanced. Oscar Schindler is a big, lean, muscular colt, who might be better prepared for the push and shove of Australia's most competitive race next year, but as he is fit, sound and, most importantly, well handicapped this time around, the temptation may be difficult to resist. The Japan Cup, if he is invited, is an alternative.

Wherever Oscar Schindler runs, though, it is unlikely that Cash Asmusen, his partner on Sunday, will retain the ride. Kevin Prendergast, his trainer, was not impressed by Asmusen's Longchamp performance.

**THE TIMEFORM GRADES**

1345	Sea Bird	1345	Sea Bird
1340	Generous	1340	Generous
1335	Helissio	1335	Helissio
1330	Mark Of Esteem	1330	Mark Of Esteem
1325	Brigadier Gerard	1325	Brigadier Gerard
1320	Mill Reef	1320	Mill Reef
1315	Dancing Brave	1315	Dancing Brave
1310	Sea Bird	1310	Sea Bird
1305	Generous	1305	Generous
1300	Helissio	1300	Helissio
1295	Mark Of Esteem	1295	Mark Of Esteem
1290	Brigadier Gerard	1290	Brigadier Gerard
1285	Mill Reef	1285	Mill Reef
1280	Dancing Brave	1280	Dancing Brave
1275	Sea Bird	1275	Sea Bird
1270	Generous	1270	Generous
1265	Helissio	1265	Helissio
1260	Mark Of Esteem	1260	Mark Of Esteem
1255	Brigadier Gerard	1255	Brigadier Gerard
1250	Mill Reef	1250	Mill Reef
1245	Dancing Brave	1245	Dancing Brave
1240	Sea Bird	1240	Sea Bird
1235	Generous	1235	Generous
1230	Helissio	1230	Helissio
1225	Mark Of Esteem	1225	Mark Of Esteem
1220	Brigadier Gerard	1220	Brigadier Gerard
1215	Mill Reef	1215	Mill Reef
1210	Dancing Brave	1210	Dancing Brave
1205	Sea Bird	1205	Sea Bird
1200	Generous	1200	Generous
1195	Helissio	1195	Helissio
1190	Mark Of Esteem	1190	Mark Of Esteem
1185	Brigadier Gerard	1185	Brigadier Gerard
1180	Mill Reef	1180	Mill Reef
1175	Dancing Brave	1175	Dancing Brave
1170	Sea Bird	1170	Sea Bird
1165	Generous	1165	Generous
1160	Helissio	1160	Helissio
1155	Mark Of Esteem	1155	Mark Of Esteem
1150	Brigadier Gerard	1150	Brigadier Gerard
1145	Mill Reef	1145	Mill Reef
1140	Dancing Brave	1140	Dancing Brave
1135	Sea Bird	1135	Sea Bird
1130	Generous	1130	Generous
1125	Helissio	1125	Helissio
1120	Mark Of Esteem	1120	Mark Of Esteem
1115	Brigadier Gerard	1115	Brigadier Gerard
1110	Mill Reef	1110	Mill Reef
1105	Dancing Brave	1105	Dancing Brave
1100	Sea Bird	1100	Sea Bird
1095	Generous	1095	Generous
1090	Helissio	1090	Helissio
1085	Mark Of Esteem	1085	Mark Of Esteem
1080	Brigadier Gerard	1080	Brigadier Gerard
1075	Mill Reef	1075	Mill Reef
1070	Dancing Brave	1070	Dancing Brave
1065	Sea Bird	1065	Sea Bird
1060	Generous	1060	Generous
1055	Helissio	1055	Helissio
1050	Mark Of Esteem	1050	Mark Of Esteem
1045	Brigadier Gerard	1045	Brigadier Gerard
1040	Mill Reef	1040	Mill Reef
1035	Dancing Brave	1035	Dancing Brave
1030	Sea Bird	1030	Sea Bird
1025	Generous	1025	Generous
1020	Helissio	1020	Helissio
1015	Mark Of Esteem	1015	Mark Of Esteem
1010	Brigadier Gerard	1010	Brigadier Gerard
1005	Mill Reef	1005	Mill Reef
1000	Dancing Brave	1000	Dancing Brave
995	Sea Bird	995	Sea Bird
990	Generous	990	Generous
985	Helissio	985	Helissio
980	Mark Of Esteem	980	Mark Of Esteem
975	Brigadier Gerard	975	Brigadier Gerard
970	Mill Reef	970	Mill Reef
965	Dancing Brave	965	Dancing Brave
960	Sea Bird	960	Sea Bird
955	Generous	955	Generous
950	Helissio	950	Helissio
945	Mark Of Esteem	945	Mark Of Esteem
940	Brigadier Gerard	940	Brigadier Gerard
935	Mill Reef	935	Mill Reef
930	Dancing Brave	930	Dancing Brave
925	Sea Bird	925	Sea Bird
920	Generous	920	Generous
915	Helissio	915	Helissio
910	Mark Of Esteem	910	Mark Of Esteem
905	Brigadier Gerard	905	Brigadier Gerard
900	Mill Reef	900	Mill Reef
895	Dancing Brave	895	Dancing Brave
890	Sea Bird	890	Sea Bird
885	Generous	885	Generous
880	Helissio	880	Helissio
875	Mark Of Esteem	875	Mark Of Esteem
870	Brigadier Gerard	870	Brigadier Gerard
865	Mill Reef	865	Mill Reef
860	Dancing Brave	860	Dancing Brave
855	Sea Bird	855	Sea Bird
850	Generous	850	Generous
845	Helissio	845	Helissio
840	Mark Of Esteem	840	Mark Of Esteem
835	Brigadier Gerard	835	Brigadier Gerard
830	Mill Reef	830	Mill Reef
825	Dancing Brave	825	Dancing Brave
820	Sea Bird	820	Sea Bird
815	Generous	815	Generous
810	Helissio	810	Helissio
805	Mark Of Esteem	805	Mark Of Esteem
800	Brigadier Gerard	800	Brigadier Gerard
795	Mill Reef	795	Mill Reef
790	Dancing Brave	790	Dancing Brave
785	Sea Bird	785	Sea Bird
780	Generous	780	Generous
775	Helissio	775	Helissio
770	Mark Of Esteem	770	Mark Of Esteem
765	Brigadier Gerard	765	Brigadier Gerard
760	Mill Reef	760	Mill Reef
755	Dancing Brave	755	Dancing Brave
750	Sea Bird	750	Sea Bird
745	Generous	745	Generous
740	Helissio	740	Helissio
735	Mark Of Esteem	735	Mark Of Esteem
730	Brigadier Gerard	730	Brigadier Gerard
725	Mill Reef	725	Mill Reef
720	Dancing Brave	720	Dancing Brave
715	Sea Bird	715	Sea Bird
710	Generous	710	Generous
705	Helissio	705	Helissio
700	Mark Of Esteem	700	Mark Of Esteem
695	Brigadier Gerard	695	Brigadier Gerard
690	Mill Reef	690	Mill Reef
685	Dancing Brave	685	Dancing Brave
680	Sea Bird	680	Sea Bird
675	Generous	675	Generous
670	Helissio	670	Helissio
665	Mark Of Esteem	665	Mark Of Esteem
660	Brigadier Gerard	660	Brigadier Gerard
655	Mill Reef	655	Mill Reef
650	Dancing Brave	650	Dancing Brave
645	Sea Bird	645	Sea Bird
640	Generous	640	Generous
635	Helissio	635	Helissio
630	Mark Of Esteem	630	Mark Of Esteem
625	Brigadier Gerard	625	Brigadier Gerard
620	Mill Reef	620	Mill Reef
615	Dancing Brave	615	Dancing Brave
610	Sea Bird	610	Sea Bird
605	Generous	605	Generous
600	Helissio	600	Helissio
595	Mark Of Esteem	595	Mark Of Esteem
590	Brigadier Gerard	590	Brigadier Gerard
585	Mill Reef	585	Mill Reef
580	Dancing Brave	580	Dancing Brave
575	Sea Bird	575	Sea Bird
570	Generous	570	Generous
565	Helissio	565	Helissio
560	Mark Of Esteem	560	Mark Of Esteem
555	Brigadier Gerard	555	Brigadier Gerard
550	Mill Reef	550	Mill Reef
545	Dancing Brave	545	Dancing Brave
540	Sea Bird	540	Sea Bird
535	Generous	535	Generous
530	Helissio	530	Helissio
525	Mark Of Esteem	525	Mark Of Esteem
520	Brigadier Gerard	520	Brigadier Gerard
515	Mill Reef	515	Mill Reef
510	Dancing Brave	510	Dancing Brave
505	Sea Bird	505	Sea Bird
500	Generous	500	Generous
495	Helissio	495	Helissio
490	Mark Of Esteem	490	Mark Of Esteem
485	Brigadier Gerard	485	Brigadier Gerard
480	Mill Reef	480	Mill Reef
475	Dancing Brave	475	Dancing Brave
470	Sea Bird	470	Sea Bird
465	Generous	465	Generous
460	Helissio	460	Helissio
455	Mark Of Esteem	455	Mark Of Esteem
450	Brigadier Gerard	450	Brigadier Gerard
445	Mill Reef	445	Mill Reef
440	Dancing Brave	440	Dancing Brave
435	Sea Bird	435	Sea Bird
430	Generous	430	Generous
425	Helissio	425	Helissio
420	Mark Of Esteem	420	Mark Of Esteem
415	Brigadier Gerard	415	Brigadier Gerard
410	Mill Reef	410	Mill Reef
405	Dancing Brave	405	Dancing Brave
400	Sea Bird	400	Sea Bird
395	Generous	395	Generous
390	Helissio	390	Helissio
385	Mark Of Esteem	385	Mark Of Esteem
380	Brigadier Gerard	380	Brigadier Gerard
375	Mill Reef	375	Mill Reef
370	Dancing Brave	370	Dancing Brave
365	Sea Bird	365	Sea Bird
360	Generous	360	Generous
355	Helissio	355	Helissio
350	Mark Of Esteem	350	Mark Of Esteem
345	Brigadier Gerard	345	Brigadier Gerard
340	Mill Reef	340	Mill Reef
335	Dancing Brave	335	Dancing Brave
330	Sea Bird	330	Sea Bird
325	Generous	325	Generous
320	Helissio	320	Helissio
315	Mark Of Esteem	315	Mark Of Esteem
310	Brigadier Gerard	310	Brigadier Gerard
305	Mill Reef	305	Mill Reef
300	Dancing Brave	300	Dancing Brave
295	Sea Bird	295	Sea Bird
290	Generous	290	Generous
285	Helissio	285	Helissio
280	Mark Of Esteem	280	Mark Of Esteem
275	Brigadier Gerard	275	Brigadier Gerard
270	Mill Reef	270	Mill Reef
265	Dancing Brave	265	Dancing Brave
260	Sea Bird	260	Sea Bird
255	Generous	255	Generous
250	Helissio	250	Helissio
245	Mark Of Esteem	245	Mark Of Esteem
240	Brigadier Gerard	240	Brigadier Gerard
235	Mill Reef	235	Mill Reef
230	Dancing Brave	230	Dancing Brave
225	Sea Bird	225	Sea Bird
220	Generous	220	Generous
215	Helissio	215	Helissio
210	Mark Of Esteem	210	Mark Of Esteem
205	Brigadier Gerard	205	Brigadier Gerard
200	Mill Reef	200	Mill Reef
195	Dancing Brave	195	Dancing Brave
190	Sea Bird	190	Sea Bird
185	Generous	185	Generous
180	Helissio	180	Helissio
175	Mark Of Esteem	175	Mark Of Esteem
170	Brigadier Gerard	170	Brigadier Gerard
165	Mill Reef	165	Mill Reef
160	Dancing Brave	160	Dancing Brave
155	Sea Bird	155	Sea Bird
150	Generous	150	Generous
145	Helissio	145	Helissio
140	Mark Of Esteem	140	Mark Of Esteem
135	Brigadier Gerard	135	Brigadier Gerard
130	Mill Reef	130	Mill Reef
125	Dancing Brave	125	Dancing Brave
120	Sea Bird	120	Sea Bird
115	Generous	115	Generous
110	Helissio	110	Helissio
105	Mark Of Esteem	105	Mark Of Esteem
100	Brigadier Gerard	100	Brigadier Gerard
95	Mill Reef	95	Mill Reef



## sport

## Laying the blame at Hunter's feet



As England prepare to face Poland at Wembley tomorrow, Ken Jones recalls the teams' historic match 23 years ago



Footballers of Norman Hunter's time swore you could hear his famous left foot creaking. So his was in Hunter's mind at Wembley 23 years ago when a tackle attempted with the foot he used mostly for standing on resulted in a goal that would prevent England from reaching the 1974 World Cup finals, and lead to Alf Ramsey's dismissal as manager?

Strange, but until last week, nobody had asked Hunter for an explanation. "It was so unlike you," I said, "and it doesn't get any better when they show it on television."

Hunter smiled. A smile was always the truth about him. A hard player for sure, but always up front, nothing devious. And the tackle, the wrong-footed blunder wide on the half-way line when trying to dispossess Grzegorz Lato that so uncommonly misrepresented his reputation?

After all these years I can still see Hunter moving in for the kill and thinking to myself that people in the royal box at Wembley were about to receive a visitor. "That was in my mind too," Hunter chuckled. "Then the bastard checked. It caused me to go in with the right leg, which was never a good idea, and I missed him."

Compounding Hunter's error, Peter Shilton dove over Jan Domarski's shot. "He could have thrown his hands at the ball and made a better job of it," somebody said that night - and England, frustrated time and time again by Jan Tomaszewski's eccentric but effective goalkeeping, were up against it.

"Described famously on television as 'a clown' by the then Derby County manager, Brian Clough, Tomaszewski had the last laugh. If aided sometimes by the woodwork, he thwarted England with practically every part of his body: hands, feet, legs, torso, even his backside. One shot struck the back of his head.

"Every goalkeeper needs luck, and you have to acknowledge Tomaszewski's courage, but it was an amazing performance. Like nothing I'd ever seen," Gordon Banks said. "The

further it went, the more he must have felt unbeatable and, of course, that gives a team the confidence to keep going, no matter how heavy the pressure."

The only effort that got past Tomaszewski was Allan Clarke's equalising penalty kick six minutes after Poland went in front. The clamour increased. Surely, it was felt, England would now break Poland's resistance.

Ramsey, however, was growing anxious. Forsaking a position in the stands - "Why has Alf got the team doctor sitting next to him?" Clough had sniped vindictively when addressing the nation - he went down to join the England trainers and substitutes on the

**'You can be sure that none of the England or Poland players will ever forget that night'**

touchline. Among them was Bobby Moore, whose error against Poland in Katowice four months earlier was partly responsible for making victory at Wembley essential. "Pul somebody on," he implored.

Never happy with substitutions, Ramsey sat stony-faced as England threw attack after attack at the Polish defences. Finally, he conceded to Moore's urgings. "Kevin, get stripped."

"Described famously on television as 'a clown' by the then Derby County manager, Brian Clough, Tomaszewski had the last laugh. If aided sometimes by the woodwork, he thwarted England with practically every part of his body: hands, feet, legs, torso, even his backside. One shot struck the back of his head.

"Every goalkeeper needs luck, and you have to acknowledge Tomaszewski's courage, but it was an amazing performance. Like nothing I'd ever seen," Gordon Banks said. "The

lands in Rotterdam. On the return journey, Ramsey confided that he had thought seriously about recalling Geoff Hurst. "These people will be very difficult to break down, and there still isn't anyone in England better than Geoff at taking defenders out of position," he said. "Of course, if I picked him we'd both get slaughtered before a ball is kicked. Especially in view of what Geoff has achieved for England, I don't think it would be fair to saddle him with such a responsibility. But I've been very close to bringing him back."

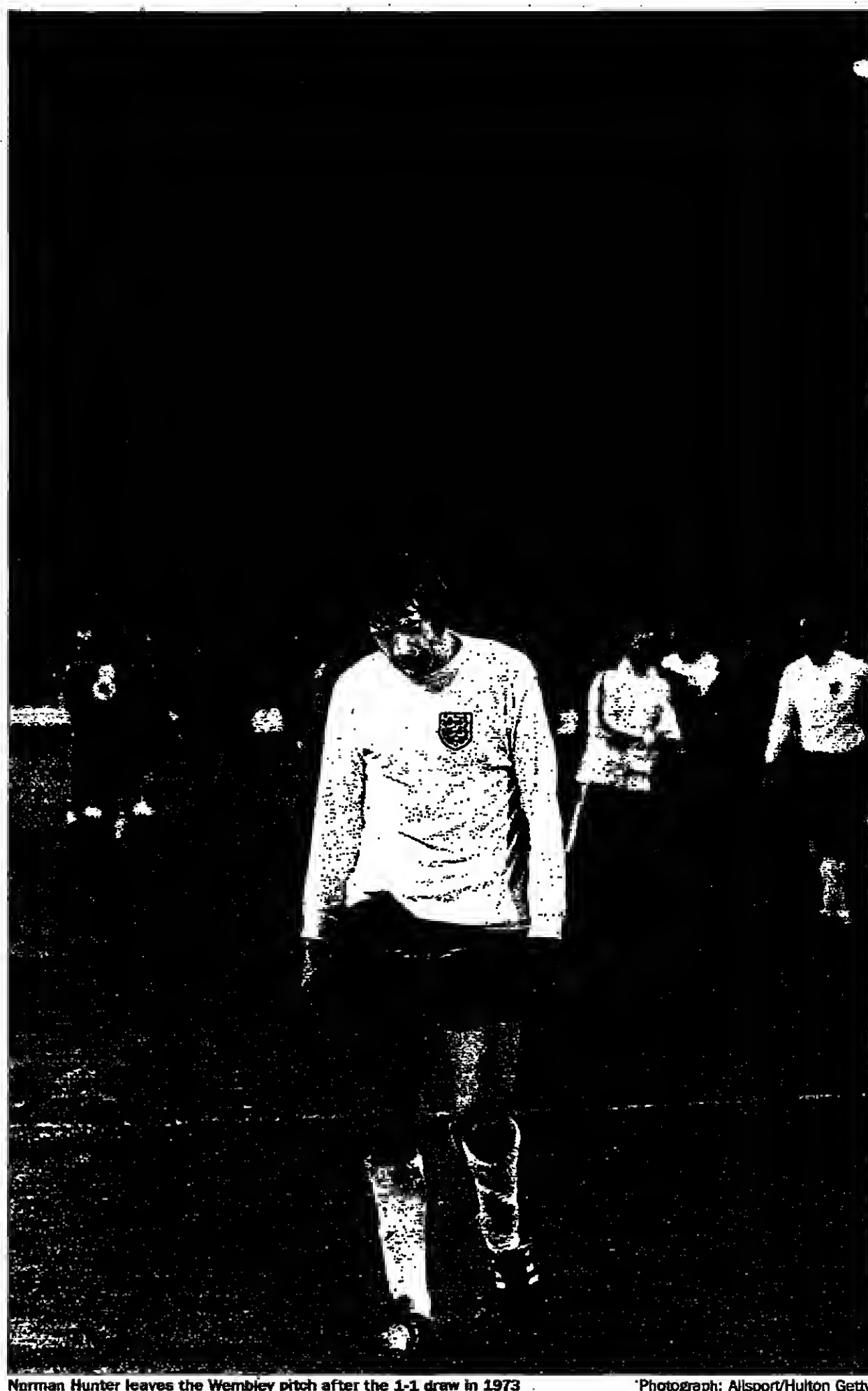
Unaware that senior Football Association officials were conspiring against him, Ramsey saw England's first failure to reach the World Cup finals as a reason for tactical change. "I think I've gone as far as I can with the present system," he said. "It's time to try something different, but I'm not sure I have the players to take it on."

England's next match, a friendly against Italy at Wembley in November 1973, saw Moore in the now fashionable role of sweeper. When England lost 1-0, Ramsey's days as manager were numbered.

England and Poland have met many times since, twice critically, but never in a game to match the drama and excitement of 23 years ago. "You can be sure that none of the England players - the Polish players too - are ever likely to forget it," Hunter said. "I was used to turning out in big matches, but the atmosphere that night was exceptional."

What if Tomaszewski's luck had deserted him? If Ramsey's last throw of the dice had made a hero out of Hector? England would have gone through to the 1974 World Cup finals in West Germany, Ramsey would have survived, perhaps for a further four years, and Don Revie would have remained with Leeds United. Certainly England would not have been absent from the finals for a total of 12 years.

In that sense, Tomaszewski influenced history. Or was it Hunter? Or Shilton? "Who can tell?" Hunter asked. No wonder they call it a funny old game.



Norman Hunter leaves the Wembley pitch after the 1-1 draw in 1973

Photograph: Aisport/Hulton Getty

## McCall winning fight for fitness

PHIL SHAW

reports from Tallinn

As one door slammed on Scotland with the news that Gary McAllister had returned home, another one opened when Stuart McCall revealed that he might be fit to face Estonia in tomorrow's World Cup Group Four qualifying match.

A hamstring strain forced McCall's substitution at half-time during Saturday's victory in Latvia, after which Craig Brown, the Scotland manager, announced that he was definitely out of the second half of Scotland's Baltic tour. Yesterday, Brown was pleased to admit he may have underestimated the speed of the Rangers midfielder's recovery.

"He's coming on very well and is talking about the possibility of playing," Brown said. "We phoned him and the doctor is happy that he's stars, but we've told Stuart that unless he's 100 per cent we won't play him, and even then we might have to save him from himself."

John Spencer, the Chelsea striker, is the only other casualty from Riga. "A hamstring injury is making the alarm bells ring in his head," said Brown, who can ill afford to lose anyone from his already depleted squad at this stage. The one Under-21 player deemed ready to be drafted into the senior side, Charlie Miller of Rangers, was also injured at the weekend.

McAllister is already home, nursing a nagging groin and a grievance against the over-zealous referee who, by booking him for saying "You're joking," ensured his suspension for the visit to Estonia. Brown said that McAllister, as a supporter as well as the captain, had been anxious to stay.

"But in the interests of his club's televised match against Southampton on Sunday, I suggested he phoned Gordon Strachan [Coventry's assistant manager] who thought it appropriate that he be returned for treatment."

"We get players on loan from their clubs, and the onus was on us to offer Gary the chance to go back. It would have been on our conscience if we'd kept him until Thursday and he hadn't made it for his Premiership game."

## Van Hooijdonk's future uncertain

The Dutchman Pierre van Hooijdonk returned to Glasgow yesterday from scoring twice for the Netherlands in their World Cup qualifier in Wales, and was told to train with Celtic's reserves.

The 26-year-old striker has not settled his dispute with Celtic, but it is not clear whether Van Hooijdonk has had further talks with Celtic's manager, Tommy Burns, as the club refused to comment yesterday.

However, Van Hooijdonk said: "I won't apologise. I have nothing to apologise for. When I signed my contract Celtic were very hard in negotiations but said if I show that I am good they would talk about making my wages better. Since then I've scored the winning goal in a cup final and scored 30 goals last season."

"Will I play for Celtic again? It's a good question. I don't want to leave, I have never said to anyone that I want to leave, but I am having a lot of problems with the club."

## Taylor places the emphasis on youth

England want to prepare their budding international stars better for the senior stage by bringing them into the Under-21 squad at a younger age.

Peter Taylor, the new Under-21 coach, has emphasised the importance of this policy with the inclusion of 17-year-old Michael Branch (Everton) and Jody Morris (Chelsea) in the squad for today's European Championship qualifying match with Poland at Molineux.

Emile Heskey (Leicester City), Richie Humphreys (Sheffield Wednesday) and David Thompson (Liverpool) - all just 18 - are also in the squad.

"What we are trying to do is bring people into the Under-21

set-up at a younger age," Taylor said. "If we play older players who fall into the Under-21 category, they wouldn't get much experience in many games under their belt before they've got to make the almighty leap to the senior squad."

"By bringing people into the plans that much earlier, they could perhaps have three seasons with us and I'm sure that would help them develop and get into the senior set-up."

England Under-21 European Championship qualifying Group Two in Poland (Luton, Middlesbrough, Reading, Wolves, Ipswich, Millwall, Charlton, Blackpool, Barnsley, Bolton, Bury, Gillingham, Huddersfield, Lincoln, Luton, Millwall, Middlesbrough, Reading, Rotherham, Sheffield Wednesday, Southampton, Stoke, Sunderland, Swansea, Tottenham, Walsley, Watford, West Ham, Wimbledon, Wolves, Wrexham, York City).

## Bosnia make 'home' debut against Croatia

Around 1,000 Bosnians will witness their country's "home" World Cup debut against neighbouring Croatia in Bologna, Italy, tonight.

Italian police said that some 500 Bosnians would make their way to the game in the central Italian city from Sarajevo and elsewhere in the former Yugoslavia.

The remaining 500, who fled their country during nearly four years of fighting, were expected to arrive from refugee camps in Italy itself. Supporters of the two countries will be segregated, but a very low spectator turnout and few problems are expected.

Bosnian Muslims and ethnic Croats backed by Croatia fought bitterly for part of the Bosnian war, but are now joined in a tenuous federation.

Bologna offered to host Bosnia's Group One qualifying matches at its central Renato Dell'Ara stadium after the

game's world governing body, Fifa, ruled out Sarajevo's newly rebuilt Kosovo stadium on safety grounds.

Italian newspapers reported that the first busload of Bosnian fans had left Sarajevo for a match whose significance goes far beyond mere qualification for the 1998 World Cup finals in France.

More supporters are expected to make the somewhat easier journey from Croatia, which has regular air links with Italy. Despite strong local sympathy for Bosnia, the weather is likely to determine the Italian turnout, with only a handful of tickets sold yesterday as rain swept the city.

Few, including the country's own supporters, give Bosnia much hope against the Croats, who impressed during Euro 96. However, for most Bosnians, the fact that the match is being played is far more important than the eventual result. "For

## Alan Baldwin previews tonight's World Cup qualifier in Bologna

us, Bosnia-Croatia is the first real match. Djedzad Musovic, the Bosnia coach, said recently, ignoring their 3-0 defeat in their first qualifier in Greece last month.

Bosnian and Croat players gathered at a news conference in Bologna yesterday, agreed that the game was an important message of peace for their countries. They pointed out that they were friends before the war and had remained so during and after the fighting.

One Bosnian player, Sead Halilovic, had played previously for the Croatian national team and will be turning out against his former team-mates for the first time.

The Bosnians, seeking to

avoid controversy, were defensive when asked by a reporter whether there were any non-Muslims in their team. "We don't ask whether the Italian team is all-Catholic," a team spokesman replied.

Several Bosnian stalwarts are veterans of the 1990 Yugoslav national team, the last before the war broke out and the country split into separate republics, and played with and against the Croats in the old Yugoslav league.

They include the 36-year-old captain, Mehmed Bazdarevic, now playing in the French Third Division and the Turkish-based goalkeeper, Fahrudin Omerovic.

Croatia will be counting on their Italian-based stars, Alan Boskic of Juventus and Milan's Zvonimir Boban.

"Tomorrow is about friendship, not brotherhood, which is something else," Boban told the news conference.

"It would have been different if we had had to meet Serbia, but Zagreb and Belgrade have also established diplomatic relations. And what about France and England or Italy and Austria who fought each other for centuries?" he added. "In our case, the war is merely more recent."

Dino Zoff, the president of Lazio, escaped unhurt yesterday after his car was written off in a high-speed motorway collision. His car came to rest against a guard rail after rolling over twice in the accident. Zoff was returning to Rome after attending the funeral of former World Cup winning player Silvio Piola, who died last week.

Germany's already depleted squad was further affected on Monday when Christian Ziege and Thomas Strunz pulled out of the trip to Armenia for their opening World Cup qualifying match tomorrow through injury.

## Argentinians guilty of cruelty

## Equestrianism

The four members of Argentina's show jumping team at the Atlanta Olympics have been suspended for six months after being found guilty of severe cruelty to their horses.

The judicial committee of the international governing body of the sport, the FEI, reported yesterday on the results of a hearing into the alleged mistreatment of horses by the Argentinian riders at Georgia's Pine Top Farm.

The panel listened to evidence and inspected photographs of the training methods used, which included taking their horses over obstacles with wire and nails across the top.

"To use for training a course of this kind amounts in the committee's view to severe cruelty of which the entire Argentinian Olympic show-jumping team were guilty," the FEI statement said.

The team's 17th place in the show jumping at the Olympics has been declared void, the

riders are suspended from all international competition for six months, and the riders must pay an unspecified amount to cover the cost of the hearing.

This is not the first time Argentinian riders have been involved in controversy. The 1980 Olympic Games in Moscow saw Jose Ortel's exhausted horse put down after the cross-country, while Fernando Zuviria had two falls and was prevented from remounting after a third by spectators distressed at the condition of his horse.

## Muster avoids Davis Cup suspension

## Tennis

Thomas Muster Monday escaped a suspension for his Davis Cup doubles walk-out in Brazil when the International Tennis Federation decided the \$8,000 (£5,200) fine it had already imposed was punishment enough.

The ITF's Davis Cup committee also imposed no punishment on the Austrian team, which defaulted its last two singles to give Brazil a 4-1 victory in São Paulo last month.

Muster stormed off court during a World Group qualifying tie. He said that Brazilian fans had spat, cursed and thrown objects at him, and tried to blind him with mirrors.

In their defence, the Austrians said they could provide video evidence of the Brazilian fans' behavior, but the ITF president, Brian Tobin, said that no concrete proof of what had happened had been provided.

Tobin said: "As far as we are concerned the security arrangements were very good."

## Henman breaches top 30

Tim Henman yesterday became the first British player since John Lloyd in December 1984 to break into the top 30 in the world rankings.

After reaching the semi-finals of the Lyon tournament last week, Henman has risen from 32 to 26 on the ATP computer. He has withdrawn from the Vienna event this week, because of blisters, but he will be back on the

circuit at Ostrava, in the Czech Republic, next week. Greg Rusedski, the British No 2, has also risen in the rankings, from 84 to 75, after reaching the semi-finals in Singapore last week.

Sam Smith, the Essex player, who reached the semi-finals of the Limoges Challenger two weeks ago, has become the British No 1 after improving his world ranking from 214 to 134.

## TODAY'S FIXTURES

**Football**  
7.30 unless stated  
WORLD CUP GROUP ONE  
Russia v Georgia (7.45)  
for Stadio Olimpico, Bologna, Italy  
GROUP FIVE  
Lombard v Bologna (7.45)  
for Municipal stadium, Luxembourg  
EUROPEAN CUP - 22.00  
QUALIFYING GROUP TWO  
England v Poland (7.45)  
for Millers, Wrexham  
GROUP FIVE  
Bristol v Southampton (8.00)  
for Ashton Gate, Bristol  
GROUP EIGHT  
Bristol v Bristol City (8.00)  
for Ashton Gate, Bristol  
NATIONAL LEAGUE  
FIRST DIVISION  
Bristol v Bristol City (8.00)  
SECOND DIVISION  
Bristol v Bristol City (8.00)  
THIRD DIVISION  
Bristol v Bristol City (8.00)  
FOURTH DIVISION  
Bristol v Bristol City (8.00)  
FIFTH DIVISION  
Bristol v Bristol City (8.00)  
SIXTH DIVISION  
Bristol v Bristol City (8.00)  
SEVENTH DIVISION  
Bristol v Bristol City (8.00)  
EIGHTH DIVISION  
Bristol v Bristol City (8.00)  
NINTH DIVISION  
Bristol v Bristol City (8.00)  
TENTH DIVISION  
Bristol v Bristol City (8.00)

**Rugby Union**  
WELSH CUP - Llanelli v Swansea (7.45)  
OTHER MATCHES: Newport v Carmarthen (7.45)  
**Baseball**  
EUROPEAN CUP - Rotterdam (19.00) v Stade Laval (19.00)  
**Speedway**  
Preston v Loughborough (19.00) v Heath & Stiles (19.00)  
**Racing**  
Redcar (2.15), Wincor (2.00)

**FANTASY FOOTBALL**  
Check your scores every Wednesday and Sunday and watch out for our first transfer period, coming soon

**THE INDEPENDENT**







## SPORT

## Coppell preaches realism at City

Football  
GUY HODGSON

You could almost hear ghosts of Maine Road packing their bags and leaving. Manchester City yesterday rid themselves of a pre-occupation with happenings at Old Trafford by appointing a former Manchester United player, Steve Coppell, as their eighth manager in 10 years.

Coppell arrived preaching realism and good sense. There were no bold boasts, just a promise of hard work and hope, and to put the supporters' minds at rest, the new manager said he had no intention of selling Georgi Kinkladze.

"Expectations have to be realigned," Coppell said. "The reality of the First Division has to be adjusted. People say there's no quality in it but it's a war every Saturday. It's hard to express yourself and hard to

sett and by numerous others through the media. Bassett's decision is particularly paradoxical as Coppell, nominally, was his boss at Selhurst Park. "I have blinkers about this job," Coppell said, referring to Bassett's decision not to move north. "I didn't think about anybody else. This is a massive club and a golden opportunity that I'd have been a fool to turn down."

Coppell will have as his No 2 Phil Neal, who resigned from Cardiff yesterday to become his assistant.

Francis Lee, the chairman who has come increasingly under fire from supporters in the interim between Ball and Coppell, did not feel his new man's Old Trafford connections would be a problem.

"It's so long since he played for United you can't bring it into it," he said. "It's something that happened in the past. He had a wonderful career at United but you have to move on in this profession." Listing Coppell's attributes for the job he added: "I think he's got great integrity, he's got a proven record at Crystal Palace, a great knowledge of the game and he's a good motivator."

Coppell has not been in management since 1993, when he resigned from Palace after they were relegated from the Premiership, but Lee saw that as a blessing. "Sometimes you can be in it too long and if you step back you come back refreshed," he said.

Coppell's arrival will make him an unusual figure at City's Platt Lane training ground in that his record in Manchester derbies is on the plus side. A right winger whose skills were hugely reinforced by his intelligence, he was on the losing side only four times in 17 appearances for United between 1975 and 1983, scoring five goals.

After retiring at 28 because of a knee injury, Coppell, who won 42 England caps, became the youngest manager in the league with Palace, where his record included promotion from the old Second Division, an FA Cup final appearance in 1980 and third place in the old First Division 12 months later. "I was eight years at United and nine at Crystal Palace," he said. "So I'm an animal that tends to roost."

As indeed he hopes Kinkladze will do. "As far as I'm concerned I want him to stay. I've seen him on television this year and live last season and he's an exceptionally gifted individual. But an individual won't win you anything, you need a team and unity of purpose."

**MAINE ROAD MANAGERIAL MERRY-GO-ROUND**

Malcolm Allison 1972-73
Johnny Hart 1973
Ron Saunders 1973-74
Tony Book 1974-75
Malcolm Allison 1975-80
John Bond 1980-83
John Benson 1983
Billy McNeill 1983-86
Jimmy Frizzell 1986-87
(continued as General Manager)
Mel Machin 1987-89
Howard Kendall 1989
Peter Reid 1989-93
Brian Horton 1993-95
Alan Ball 1995-96
Steve Coppell 1996

play the football you played in the Premiership because the emphasis is on stifling.

"I don't know if we can go up straight away, but it has to be the target. There are 37 games to go and, the old cliché, we will try to win each and every one of them. I think we have a realistic chance of being successful."

Coppell's appointment after three and a half years away from management ends one of the most embarrassing episodes in City's recent history in which leading figures have been falling over themselves to reject the opportunity to come to Maine Road. As a City supporter outside the ground yesterday put it: "Anyone who can sort this lot out, even a Red, is welcome."

Coppell, 41, leaves his position as technical director at Crystal Palace to take over a club that has had scant direction since Alan Ball resigned three games into the season. Coppell has accepted a position that was rejected conventionally by George Graham and Dave Bas-



As England prepare to face Poland tomorrow, Ken Jones looks back to their historic Wembley match 25 years ago

PZ



Glenn Hoddle (centre) sets his England squad a good example in training at Bisham Abbey yesterday.

Photograph: David Ashdown

## Hoddle waxes lyrical about Gascoigne

GLENN MOORE

England's footballers, like most of their fans, were gathered in front of the television last night. For them, however, the main event was not Channel 4's documentary on Paul Gascoigne, but a private video from the Glenn Hoddle collection.

The tape detailed the strengths and weaknesses of Poland, England's World Cup opponents at Wembley tomorrow night. Later, the bulk of the team watched the Gascoigne

film, but for Hoddle it would have held little more than curiosity value.

The England coach knows that his tape, although carefully compiled, can merely give a suggestion as to what to expect from Poland - only by playing them will England discover their true nature.

The same with Gascoigne. The film, for all its qualities, could only offer a flavour of a complex man, to understand him fully you would have to sit him down and get to know him personally.

That is what Hoddle has attempted to do this week, and he has liked what he has found. "I did not get the chance to talk to him properly on the Moldova trip, but I have sat down with a lot of players now and my eyes were opened when I sat down with Gazza," the England coach said yesterday.

"I have spoken to him at length, about lots of things. I thought he was a serious man who wants to succeed. I got the impression he wants to change his life. I know what has been said about him, including his

drinking. I am not interested in that. I am only interested in the Paul Gascoigne I see before me, he is the one I want to understand. I see a skilful footballer with a great attitude and a caring person."

"He is married, has a son now and I believe that has made a big difference to him. Maybe I am lucky, maybe it has taken him this far to realise how good he is."

"He should look at his baby lying in bed at night, a baby's body needs careful looking after - it is special. When a foot-

baller gets to 30, so does his body - you must take care of things properly and not abuse it. He can certainly play longer than he thought. He can play until he is at least 35; this World Cup and, yes, another one. He loves the game and that is a great starting point."

"When you get to 30, if you can play, if you have skill and wonderful ability, life gets easier. It should not get harder. If you look after yourself you can steer clear of injury - ask Ray Wilkins and Gordon Strachan."

"There was always a grim reaper over Gazza. There is no need for it to be around anymore, he can open the curtains on a whole new era. In Moldova he wasn't 100 per cent fit, but it was worth a gamble playing him because of his ability. Now he is leaner, fitter and producing outstanding football for Rangers."

"He has not won anything with England and he desperately wants to. He may believe time is running out but it isn't, not when you have his ability. But he must look after himself. He knows the country is behind him, everyone is, but he must keep an even keel and learn to relax as a footballer and a family man. I loved to watch him play; now I like the man himself."

"He has a lot more to offer than the image of Paul Gascoigne so many people see. A lot of people have the wrong impression, but I know what my impression is."

"He should get up every morning and feel ready to take on the world. He has a deep love for England and wants to succeed. The Paul Gascoigne I have spoken to is the Gascoigne we want in my side and that is a great asset for English football."

One topic Hoddle addressed in his meeting was the need for Gascoigne to avoid cautions. He made the point yesterday that the new refereeing strictures help a player like Gascoigne when he has the ball - but can go against him when he has not.

"The way things are now, the old man-markers have been taken out of the game. There won't be any more Claudio Gentiles," he added, referring to the notorious Italian defender. "They would not get away with the things they used to, they will now be sent off."

"The changes have been brought in to help good technical players, like Gazza, but he's got to calm himself when opponents have the ball."

Neither side is expected to name its team until shortly before kick-off.

## FA bans Poole for two more matches

ANDREW MARTIN

The Birmingham defender Gary Poole will miss only two more matches through suspension by the Football Association, which ruled him guilty of a physical attack on a referee.

Poole, fined £1,000 on a misconduct charge, has already served half the four-match ban the FA handed him yesterday, because he was suspended immediately when the referee, Richard Poulain, reported the incident which took place in the last minute of Birmingham's 1-0 defeat at Manchester City on 1 September. Poole appeared to shove Poulain in the back following the award of a decisive penalty against his team.

The FA took two hours sifting through video and verbal ev-

idence from the referee, the 29-year-old player, his manager, Trevor Francis, and Birmingham's assistant physiotherapist, John Price, who had examined the referee after the game.

Poole, having already sat out two matches, now misses Birmingham's home game against Bradford on Saturday and tonight's fixture at Huddersfield.

Another official, the referee Paul Danson, has admitted he was wrong to send off Sunderland's Paul Stewart against Arsenal at Highbury a week last Saturday. The striker will now escape a one-match suspension.

Danson, who had already sent off the Sunderland defender Martin Scott for two bookable fouls, agreed to review Stewart's dismissal at a weekend seminar with the FA and the

League Managers' Association. Stewart, who had already been booked for handball, repeated the offence, but claimed he was fouled by Arsenal's Steve Bould. Danson told the FA: "It was a genuine misinterpretation on my part."

He has asked the FA to disregard the second yellow card against Stewart, although the first offence will still count for two disciplinary points.

Peter Reid, the Sunderland manager, sent from the touchline for arguing with Danson about Scott's dismissal, has already been charged by the FA with bringing the game into disrepute.

The Manchester United striker Andy Cole had X-rays yesterday to determine the extent of a fracture to his left leg, which was discovered after he broke his right ankle in a challenge by Liv-

erpool's Neil Ruddock in a reserve match. A small crack below his left knee is believed to be the result of wear and tear, and United hope it will heal in the next three months.

England could have three clubs in next season's Champions' League, providing Cole's club, Manchester United, win this season's competition. Uefa, football's European governing body, has issued clarified guidelines governing the 1997-98 tournament. For three Premier League teams to be involved, United would have to lift the Champions' League trophy in May as well as finishing outside the top two in the Premiership.

United would then automatically qualify as reigning European champions, along with the winners and runners-up in the Premiership.

## Leeds quit Headingley in 'deal of the century'

Cricket  
DEREK HODGSON

Yorkshire yesterday announced that they are to abandon Headingley - one of the game's great venues - and move to a new £50m complex at Wakefield where they hope to be installed by 2000.

Headingley, the county's home since 1896 and a venue for 59 Tests, some of the most famous in history, will be left behind for a greenfield site on which will be built a stadium seating 25,000 to 35,000 with parking for 1,400 vehicles. Amazingly, the move will cost the club nothing.

Yorkshire, tenants at their Leeds base, will own the complex, which will be developed in conjunction with Wakefield Metropolitan Council, who will fund the project through grants, including £28m from the National Lottery, and land sales. Wakefield Council's leader, Colin Croxall, called it "the deal of the century. World-beating facilities for nil outlay".

There will be some resistance from the old guard but the committee, and president Sir Lawrence Byford, feel they have the support of the great majority of Yorkshire's 10,000 members.

Wakefield council have already done a smooth job of pre-

sional PR job. Each Yorkshire member has already received a video, the theme of which is "Yorkshire cannot survive on nostalgia".

A fifth of all the cricket played in England is played within the county but the county club, 33 times champions, have never, as Sir Lawrence pointed out yesterday, owned more than an office block and an indoor school.

The argument for the move is apparently irrefutable: Yorkshire will get a £32m stadium, designed by Arup Associates, who have already built stadiums in Johannesburg and designed one in Sydney.

The new site is close by the junction of the M1 and M62, 90 minutes' drive for 17 million people. A railway runs alongside and Wakefield will build a new station. There will be five practice pitches, the Cricket Academy, Indoor School, conference and banqueting facilities, a museum, a creche, library and a marina on the River Calder.

Work can start immediately with the aim of playing first-class cricket at Wakefield in the summer of 2000. Leeds would continue to stage first-class matches, and Tests until the new ground, especially the new square, was ready.

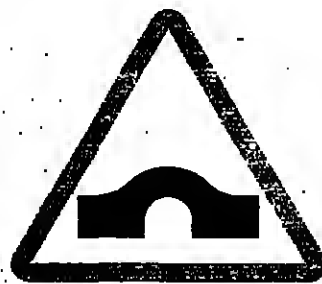
Yorkshire have been contemplating the move for two years. Headingley, like other inner-

city grounds, has enormous traffic and parking problems. The ground is owned by the Leeds Rugby League Club, who take advertising and catering revenue and who have been prevented from improving facilities by objections from residents.

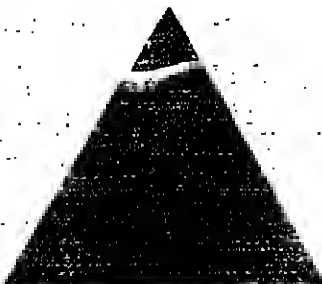
Crowd behaviour on the Western Terrace in recent years has become a major liability, bringing calls for the removal of the Test fixture, and in the North-east, Durham's spanking new ground at Riverside posed a future rivalry.

Leeds Council have tried hard to keep Yorkshire within the city boundaries by offering alternative sites but their proposals involved... planning enquiries and would have been costly. The Leeds club have offered to sell Headingley to Yorkshire but the cricket club would have been left with the attendant problems plus rebuilding costs.

The announcement leaves a question mark against the future of the Headingley complex, which is owned by Leeds Rugby League Club, whose headquarters are back-to-back with the cricket ground. There have been reports of a takeover by Caspian, who own Leeds United, and a subsequent move to Elland Road. That could leave Leeds Rugby Union Club homeless when their three-year deal to play home games at Headingley runs out.



Hump bridge.



Leave the bridge well alone.



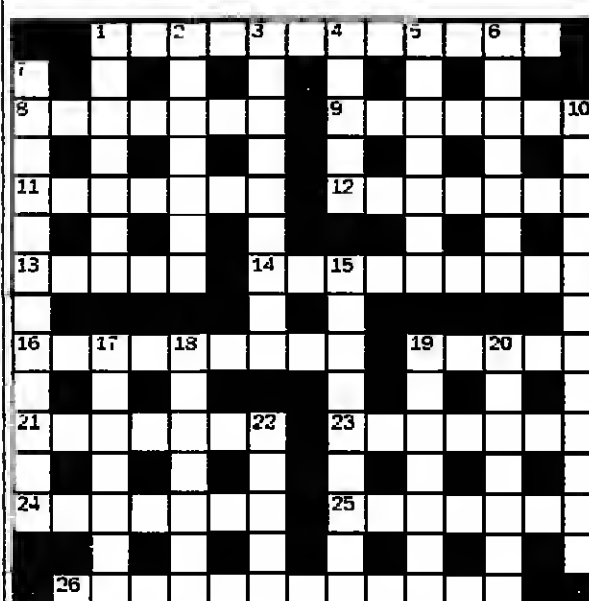
Bass BEST SELLING PREMIUM CASK ALE SINCE 1777

## THE INDEPENDENT CROSSWORD

No. 3112, Tuesday 8 October

By Aedra

Monday's Solution



ACROSS  
1 Having much to hide (5-7)  
8 Newsman out of bed for some physical activity (5-2)  
9 Attack doctor in committee (7)  
11 Pig runs round lobby showing no subtlety (7)  
12 Graduate's presently to be a tenor oboe (7)  
13 Rhode Island sermon which could give you a bit of a lift (5)  
14 What could be drowned by me? Mortals may (9)  
16 Yiddlers of cannabis harvest (3,6)  
17 Murderer retains right to have mark of respect (5)  
21 Advances leaving no way out (7)  
23 Print made smaller to fit on box (7)  
24 Raise European tax in general (7)

DOWN  
1 To turn over room would reveal protective bits of footwear (7)  
2 No time to abuse a king for not taking the broad view (7)  
3 Abandoned lady? It might seem not (4,5)  
4 Bake sizzling British dish (5)  
5 Making sm seem to be retirement (7)  
6 Charm of hair brushed up for us (7)  
7 Address oneself to a job and work in busy shirt (1,2)  
8 Church's removal of proposal (1,2)  
9 In East college women present significance of alibi (9)

17 Fuss about poor rep's craft threatened by this (7)  
18 Green growth could make it a wearisome task to get into shelter (7)  
19 Boast to lawyers which gives lots of leverage (7)  
20 Documents primitive instincts with clubs? (2,5)  
22 Guarantor has no right to get fat (5)

Published by Newspaper Publishing PLC, 1 Canada Square, Canary Wharf, London E14 5DL, and printed at Mirror Color Print, 38 Abchurch Lane, London EC4N 3DF. Back issues available from Historic Newspapers, 01889 845370. Tuesday 8 October 1996 Registered as a newspaper with the Post Office.